

Pali Text Society.

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Journal

OF THE

PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

1883.

EDITED BY

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, M.A. PH.D.,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

PROFESSOR OF PĀLI AND BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
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# PĀLI TEXT SOCIETY.

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This Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.

The historical importance of these Texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about B.C. 400–250). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has

influenced so powerfully, and for so long a time, so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity. In the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. In the history of Indian literature there is nothing older than these works, excepting only the Vedic writings; and all the later classical Sanskrit literature has been profoundly influenced by the intellectual struggle of which they afford the only direct evidence. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history,—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious,—than the publication of the Vedas has already been.

The Subscription to the Society is One Guinea a year, or Five Guineas for six years, payable in advance. Each subscriber receives, post free, the publications of the Society.

It is hoped that persons who are desirous to aid the publication of these important historical texts will give Donations to be spread if necessary over a term of years.

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*\* \* Subscriptions for 1884 are now due, and it is earnestly requested that subscribers will send in their payments without putting the Chairman to the expense and trouble of personally asking for them. All who can conveniently do so should send the Five Guineas for six years, to their own benefit and that of the Society also.*

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# REPORT

OF THE

## PĀLI TEXT SOCIETY FOR 1883.

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ON coming before the members of the Pāli Text Society at the commencement of a second year, I have again to congratulate them on the improved position to which it has attained during the last twelve months. The number of five-guinea subscribers has risen from 18 to 39, while notwithstanding the fact that several of the one-guinea subscribers of last year have transferred themselves to the higher list, and two of them have transferred themselves to the Ceylon local list, yet the number of one-guinea subscribers in this year's list is greater by two than that in the last (75 as against 73). In other words, the number of our members in Europe and America has risen from 91 to 114, not including two new subscribers who have joined us since the beginning of the year 1884. This is so far very satisfactory. But it is needless to point out that it is not yet enough. We ought to have at least 200 subscribers to place the Society on that permanent footing which it so richly deserves, and I venture to hope that each of our members will feel it to be his duty to spread the knowledge of the Society among his acquaintances, and to endeavour to obtain new subscribers or new donors. Your chairman's power in this respect has now been exhausted, and it remains for the members of the Society to do their part. There must be many persons of wealth, known to our members, who would

be willing to aid so good a cause if its claims were properly put before them. And though those of our members who are scholars are also, for that reason, mostly poor in purse, they are rich in influence which they can legitimately use.

Our friends in Ceylon have continued to support our undertaking. Four of them are five-guinea subscribers, and eighty-seven of them had paid their second subscription before the accounts were made up by our honorary local agent, the Atapattu Mudaliar of Galle, to whose business capacity and public-spirited zeal the Society owes so much. The result is that after payment of all the local expenses, including purchase of MSS., there is a balance there of nearly £90 in favour of the Society.

To pass now to our this year's publications, we present our subscribers with the Thera- and Therî-Gâthâ, edited by Professor Oldenberg and Professor Pischel respectively, the latter of whom has been kind enough to draw up the index to the whole work. These ancient hymns contain many passages of great beauty and power; and afford valuable evidence of the high ideal of life prevailing among the early Buddhists. There seems to be no good reason for doubting the tradition which ascribes their composition to different members of the Buddhist order; though the general tone is the same throughout, and certain favourite expressions recur in hymns attributed to different authors. It is especially worthy of notice that several of the most beautiful and striking of these poems are said to be, and no doubt actually were, the work of women. It is quite justifiable to claim the main credit of this remarkable fact for Buddhism. Had they not become Bhikkhunîs, the gifted authors would not have had either the mental stimulus or the literary training which enabled them to compose their hymns. But it is none the less true that the Therî-Gâthâ affords fresh proof, if such be needed, that the present position of women in India is a modern innovation, due in great part to the influence of Muhammadanism, and alien to the whole spirit of ancient Indian institutions. I would add that it would have been impossible for these poems to have been published

thus early if it had not been for the help of the well-known native scholar, Subhûti Unnânsê of Waskaduwa, who most generously sent us on loan, all the way from Ceylon, four of his own MSS.

Dr. Morris gives us this year the Puggala Paññatti, the first text which has yet been published from the Abhidhamma Piṭaka, and for that reason alone of great interest and value. It has been supposed that the Abhidhamma was different from the Dhamma in the sense of being more metaphysical. The publication of this text shows that this is not the case. It deals exclusively with the ethics of the so-called "Excellent Way," and contains nothing inconsistent with the no doubt earlier Suttas of the four great Nikâyas. It explains a very considerable number of the most important technical and figurative expressions used of those who are walking along the stages of that Excellent Way, and the valuable Index which Dr. Morris has appended to his text will enable these explanations to be readily referred to and easily used.

I have in my possession a very excellent MS. of the commentary on this book. Our Ceylon contributors do not care for extracts only being given from such commentaries. They prefer to have the whole work; the more especially as it is precisely those parts of a commentary which a European editor is most likely to omit—the exegetical parts—to which they naturally attach the most importance. With this feeling I confess myself to have much sympathy, and Dr. Morris and myself intend therefore to edit the whole of this commentary unabridged, during this year if possible, and if not during next year.

In another respect the Ceylon scholars object to abridgments. Professor Oldenberg in his Vinaya, and Dr. Morris in the first part of his Aṅguttara, have put sometimes the first letters only, of the words in constantly repeated clauses, for the words themselves. To this the Ceylon readers have a strong antipathy, which has been brought to my notice not only by the Atapattu Mudaliar of Galle, but also by other correspondents. The nature of these complaints will

appear from the following remarks of Sñ Saddhānanda Thera of Ratgama, who, with reference to the *Anguttara* (and after praising the size of the letters, and the form and shape of the volume itself, as very satisfactory), goes on to say : “The Dhamma, and the Vinaya, and the commentaries upon them were recorded in books without any interference with the regular succession of words as handed down by the Arahats who heard them from the mouth of the Blessed One himself, and as preserved at the three Councils of five hundred, of seven hundred, and of ten hundred, held subsequent to the Buddha’s decease by the pure and learned servants of the Sammā Sambuddha, presided over by the Theras Mahā Kassapa, and Sabbakāmi, and Yasa ; and since then also at the Council held during a whole year at the Āloka Wihāra in Ceylon by Arahats who were about a thousand in number. On those occasions, for the sake of curtailment in passages that were alike, they made abbreviations which they designated by letter-signs such as ‘pe.’ And to interfere, either with words or letters, otherwise than is done by the *peyyālam*s made use of by the Arahats, has frequently been declared to be not good. Apart from myself, many learned members of the Order have declared to me how much they dislike any such other abbreviations. Any manuscript copies made from (printed) texts so abbreviated would be at variance with the traditional readings. So at page 2, line 15, of the above-named work, *pariyādiyati* is expressed by *par*°, and at line 6 *samanupassāmi* by *sam*° ; and often *bh*° stands where *bhikkhave* should be.” Now it is even quite open to question whether the frequent use of such abbreviations is useful to the European reader. It is true that one who is reading straight on will know quite well what is meant ; but when a student, turning to a passage for reference only, comes suddenly upon several successive words so shortened, then the mechanical trouble, which the writer has saved himself, is transferred to the reader’s shoulders, and he is obliged, with much loss of time, to look backwards and forwards in order to find out what the words, merely suggested and

not fully expressed, really are. Whatever they may think of this argument, our editors will, I am sure, be quite ready to fall in with the very intelligible scruples of our numerous subscribers in Ceylon; and will refrain therefore, as far as possible, from the use of any other contractions than the *peyydlams*, as found in the native MSS.

Our Journal this year comes nearer to what it is intended to be than it was last year: and contains a number of original papers likely to be interesting to those who wish to understand the Pāli Pitakas. We have, as before, lists of MSS. in Europe; but these are supplemented by other helps to the study of our Pāli Texts. Thus Dr. Edward Müller of Cardiff College gives us an independent text, the *Khudda* and *Mūla-Sikkhā*, which is a kind of summary, in the form of a *memoria technica*, of the Vinaya. It is assigned by tradition to a period antecedent to Buddhaghosa (A.D. 377), and to two authors (Mahā Sāmi for the *Khudda* and Dhamma Siri for the *Mūla*) said to be Bhikkhus then residing at Anurādhapura. Dr. Edward Müller is evidently disposed to think that the evidence of the language used in the two works is against this tradition, and would rather tend to show that they must be assigned to the sixth or even the seventh century. On this point it is important to recollect the course of the development of Pāli Literature in Ceylon. Pāli was there studied for a long time after the introduction of Buddhism merely as a dead language in which the sacred books were handed down. The commentaries on those books were studied in Sinhalese prose, a line or two of Pāli verse being introduced here and there at salient points to emphasize or sum up the narrative. The chronicles of the Order were kept in the same form, and Professor Oldenberg has clearly shown how the *Dīpavansa* must have been based on such a chronicle preserved in the Mahā Vihāra at Anurādhapura. That book is very probably, indeed, little more than a collection of the "emphatic verses" from the previously existing prose chronicle in Sinhalese. It was only with Mahānāma and Buddhaghosa that independent and original works were actually composed throughout in Pāli. Their

successors—the authors, for instance, of the Jātaka Book, and of the Mahāvaṃsa Tīkā, and of commentaries on the Dhammapada, which latter work is not by Buddhaghosa<sup>1</sup>—were imitators of their style and method. During this period Pāli was used in Ceylon very much as Latin was before the Reformation in Europe. It had become a cultivated literary language; and though there was a difference between it and the Pāli of the Piṭakas similar to, though less than, the difference between mediæval and classical Latin, still those who used it had a distinct mastery over it. We do not know how long this period lasted. The continual incursions of the Tamils, the general disorder in the kingdom, must have been incompatible with much literary effort for a long time before the rise of Parākrama the Great. There is no evidence to show that it lasted for even so long as three centuries. With Parākrama's conquest of South India a new era began. Sanskrit was much studied; and the influence of Sanskrit becomes plainly perceptible in the loss of simplicity and freedom, in the long compounds, in the intricate versification, of the Pāli works of Ceylon authors written after that date. It is needless for the purposes of this argument to come any further down: and of these three periods, which may be called the *memoriter period*, the *commentary period*, and the *Sanskritized period*, it seems very hazardous to assign the rough and ready memorial verses of the Khudda- and Mūla-Sikkha to any other than the first. I venture therefore to think that the traditional date, about 377 A.D., should be accepted as the best working hypothesis for the date of these two works. There are enough differences—though these of course not on the most vital points—between the summary in these books and the Vinaya itself to make them of considerable interest for the history of the Buddhist Order in Ceylon; and more than enough to justify these few remarks. I hope to insert an article in a future number of the Journal dealing in detail with these curious differences.

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<sup>1</sup> See my "Buddhist Birth Stories," pp. lxiii-lxv.



Professor Max Müller has been kind enough to allow me to reprint the very beautiful letter which he wrote to the *Times* on the death of one of our members, the young Japanese Buddhist Scholar at Oxford, Kenjiu Kasawara. This will I trust become a precedent with us; and I knew Mr. Kasawara well enough to appreciate how well he deserves all that his Professor says of him.

The writer has added a note on certain questions of the literary history of early Buddhism, which shows, in the same manner as the excursus appended to his Cambridge Lectures did, how valuable for the decision of such questions are the notices contained in the Chinese Buddhist literature. I trust that the whole subject of early Buddhist history will be exhaustively dealt with from this point of view in a forthcoming work by Mr. Watters, who will perhaps touch on some points of it in our next year's issue. Already in our present issue the 'Notes and Queries' by Mr. Bendall show how close is the connection between the various literatures of early Buddhism, and the more we know of them, the more, I am convinced, will this prove to be the case. It will be not the least of the advantages of our Pāli Text Society if it should aid the workers in the vast field of the history of Buddhism—the history of half the world for nearly twenty centuries—to know one another better, and appreciate one another's labours more.

The lists of MSS. given in our present number conclude all the great collections. Those in Berlin, and the few in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, will follow in our next. We are still much pressed for want of good MSS. of the texts we have in hand. I have been fortunate enough to commence a correspondence with a gentleman in Burma, Mr. P. E. Raven, of the Public Works Department there, who has already shown himself to be a good friend to scholarship by sending us MSS. of the Paṭṭhāna and of the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinā on the Mahāvagga of the Dīgha Nikāya, and who promises to send us more. The MS. of the commentary on the Puggala Paṭiatti, referred to above, arrived from Ceylon just in time to enable Dr. Morris to complete

his edition of that work for this year. But we want more. Our friends in Burma and Ceylon must recollect that three or four good and independent MSS. at least are required for the proper publication of any one text, and I would repeat the appeal made in our last journal for copies of such MSS. of

Udāna	Paṭisambhidā
Vimāna-vatthu	Apadāna
Peta-vatthu	Kathā-vatthu
Niddesa	Vibhaṅga—and
Visuddhi-magga	Dhātu-kathā,

with the respective commentaries upon them. The Atapattu Mudaliar of Galle has in this respect, as in so many others, been hitherto a good friend to us, and so has Subhūti Unnānsē; but only two others of our subscribers in Ceylon, Bulatgama Unnānsē and Sri Saddhānanda of Ratgama (whose remarks I have quoted above, and another letter from whom was printed in our *Journal* for 1882) have come forward to help us.

Our next year's issue will include the *Iti-vuttaka*, by Professor Windisch of Leipzig, and an edition of the *Abhidhammattha Sangaha*, and an instalment of at least one of the great *Nikāyas*, besides the subsidiary papers which will appear in the *Journal*.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

P.S. Might I venture to ask those yearly subscribers, who have not as yet done so, to send in their subscriptions for 1884 as soon as possible. If they wait till the end of the year, the issue of our publications will be again delayed next year, as it has been this, by getting in the subscriptions at the last moment. Though we have improved in this matter upon last year, there is still room for improvement, and this assistance is not a great thing to ask from those who, by the very fact of their subscribing at all, have shown their interest in our work.

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# BUDDHISM:

ITS ORIGIN; HISTORY; AND DOCTRINES:

ITS SCRIPTURES;

AND

THEIR LANGUAGE, THE PALI.

BEING TWO LECTURES DELIVERED AT COLOMBO,

BY

JAMES ALWIS, Esq.

“BREVIS ESSE LABORO, OBSCURUS FIO.”

*For the Benefit of the Colombo Friend-in-Need Society.*

[Reprinted from the *Colombo Observer*.]

[At the special request of some of our subscribers in Ceylon, the following two Lectures by a distinguished native Scholar are here reprinted from the *Colombo Observer* of the 22nd May, 1862.]

## LECTURE FIRST.

DELIVERED IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER,

*On the 25th October, 1861.*

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### BUDDHISM; ITS ORIGIN; HISTORY; AND DOCTRINES.

THE topic of my discourse this evening is, as you are aware, *Buddhism*. It is a subject of great and peculiar interest. It is invested with interest not only because Gôtama effected a change of Brahman institutions on Brahman soil—not only on account of the tendency which his doctrines had to upset the social polity of all eastern nations, the system of castes,—but also for the most wonderful results which Buddhism has effected in the greater part of Asia. Perhaps there is not—certainly, there was not, in the whole world a religion of human invention, which deserves greater examination than Buddhism. It began in the very dawn of history. Its history commenced with the very commencement of what may be called *Chronology*. Its era divided the history of the East into two parts, just as the Christian era served to divide the history of the world.<sup>1</sup> Nor is this all the interest which attaches to the subject. Buddhism has more than any other religion spread amongst men. It is the religion which, having been banished from its native land so entirely, that it is almost unknown there, has at the present day, upwards of 2449 years after its first promulgation, a larger number of

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Max Muller's Sanscrit Lit. p. 35.

followers than any other religion on the face of the whole earth, and amounting to nearly one-third of the human race.<sup>1</sup> It is also a remarkable fact as stated by Mr. Hardy that "there is no country in either Europe or Asia besides those that are Buddhist in which the same religion is now professed that was there extant at the time of the Redeemer's death."<sup>2</sup>

There is a still higher interest connected with the subject, when we regard Buddhism as the religion which has forged the fetters in which Brahmanism has been bound; which has humanized a great portion of mankind in the East; and which has established its civilizing influence in the greater part of Western Asia, and in our own Island. This last was the result of the mildness of the doctrines which Buddhism inculcates; and it will be noticed that they prescribe a code of morality, superior to every system with which we are acquainted, except that of Christianity.

I shall briefly consider it here in three different points of view:—*First*, as to its origin; *Secondly*, its doctrines; and *Thirdly*, its prospects.

More than five centuries before the manifestation of our Saviour in this world, in an 'age remarkable for the first diffusion and potent influence of distinct religious brotherhood, mystic rites, and expiatory ceremonies'<sup>3</sup> in the West; when the doctrine of 'an infinity of worlds' was taught by an Anaximander and a Xenophanes;—when Brahmanism had been 'reduced from the worship of nature to theism, and had declined into scepticism with the learned, and men-worship with the vulgar,'<sup>4</sup> and was through the neglect of its professors fast dwindling into decay;<sup>5</sup>—and, at a time too, when the Hindoos were marked with the barbarity of human sacrifice, various persons in Asia founded religious

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<sup>1</sup> Sir E. Tennent's Christianity, p. 199. Also M. Troyer's Rājatarangiri, 399; Hardy's East. Mon. p. v.

Hardy's East. Mon. p. 327.

Grote's Greece.

Hist. of India, vol. 1, B. 2, c. iv.

Buddhavausa.

associations proclaiming different doctrines for the salvation of man. Some were *Digambaras*; and the morality of the times suffered them to go about naked. Others were *Sce-tambaras* or those who put on 'white garments.' Some were fire-worshippers, and others adorers of the sun. Some belonged to the *Sanyâsi*, and others to the *Panchatâpa* sects. Some worshipped *Padarânga*; some *Jivaka*: and others *Nigantha*.<sup>1</sup> The *Jainas*, who followed the *Lôkâyata*, or the system of atheistical philosophy taught by Chârvâka, also appear to have flourished at this time.<sup>2</sup> In addition to these Gôtama himself enumerates 62 sects of religious Philosophers.

My limited time, however, does not permit me to dwell upon the different doctrines of these sects.<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say that about the sixth century before the Christian era, all shades of opinion and practices were tolerated:—"The broachers of new theories and the introducers of new rites did not revile the established religion, and the adherents of the old vedic system of elemental worship looked on the new notions as speculations they could not comprehend, and the new austerities as the exercise of a self-denial they could not reach, rather than as the introduction of heresy and schism." But few of these sects believed in a 'first cause;' and none acknowledged a supreme God;—therefore they differed in this respect from the Brahmins who attributed everything to the creative head of Brahmâ or Ishwara. One important point of agreement, however, between these Sectarrians and the Vedic Brahmins was, that none dared to violate the Institution of Castes, which all Brahmins regarded as *sacred*. Yet amongst them there were six arch Heretics, who regarded not the distinctions which divided men into Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras; and for the simplest of all reasons, that they were themselves of mean extraction.

They preached to the people. They set forth their

<sup>1</sup> See Buddhist Annals in the Bengal As. Soc. Journ. for September, 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Aswalâyâna Suttan in the Majjima Nikâya.

<sup>3</sup> See Ambatta Suttan.

doctrines. They at first resorted to the most legitimate means of conversion, viz. argument and discussion. But these, often, were of themselves insufficient, and availed little. Something else was required; and that was supernatural powers in those who passed for religious teachers. Well-versed however in deceit, they found no difficulty in invention, and in exhibiting supernatural powers. In proof of inspiration, to which they laid claim, they declared doctrines unintelligible to the vulgar, and above the comprehension of the common order of society. As possessing the power of *iddhi* they, like the teacher of Rasselas, often ascended an eminence to fly in the air. But, unlike the Abyssinian teacher who leaped into the water, upon the strength of his wings which sustained him in the water, the Tīrtakas resorted to other frauds, which they easily practised upon a deluded population. Thus they soon became established as *Arahantas*, at the head of distinct fraternities, having numerous congregations consisting of thousands of poor deluded human beings.

An account of them may not prove uninteresting, and the following compiled from several writers, especially from the *Saddharmāḷankāra*, is a brief outline of

#### THE HISTORY OF THE SIX TĪRTAKAS.

1. One was a half-caste—he was born in a nobleman's house, of a girl that was a foreigner. He pretended to be a Brahman; and assumed the name of the "twice born." He called himself *Kasyapa*, and received the additional appellation of *Purna*, because his birth served to "complete" the number of one hundred slaves in his master's household. For the same reason he became a favourite of his lord and enjoyed many privileges which his fellow-servants were denied. These acts of kindness, however, had a tendency to make him indolent and lazy; and the consequence was that his master soon put him to work, and appointed him his porter. This situation deprived him of the unlimited liberty



which he had previously enjoyed, and he therefore quitted the service of his master. In the helpless state in which he roamed about the country after his desertion, he was set upon by thieves, who stripped him of everything he had, including the very clothes on his person. Having, however, escaped death, he repaired in a state of perfect nudity to the neighbouring villages, where poverty led him to practise many deceptions on the credulous, until at last he established himself as an Ascetic, proclaiming his name to be *Purna Kasyapa Buddha*. *Purna*, because (he said) he was full of all arts and sciences; *Kasyapa*, 'because he was a Brahman by birth;' and *Buddha* 'because he had overcome all desires and was an Arahat.' He was offered clothes in abundance, but declined accepting them, thinking that as a *Digambara* he would be better respected. 'Clothes,' said he, 'are for the concealment of shame; *shame* is the result of sin; and *sin* I have not, since I am a person of sanctity (a rahat) who is free from evil desires.' In the then state of society, distracted by religious differences, he gained followers, and they soon exceeded eighty thousand!

"His heresy consisted," says Col. Sykes, on the authority of the Chinese Buddhistical Annals, "in annihilating all laws. He admitted neither prince nor subject, neither father nor son; neither rectitude of heart nor filial piety; and he had some mystification about *void*, *vacuum*, or *ether* being paramount."

2. *Makkhalì Gòsàlā* was another sectarian Teacher. He was slave in a nobleman's house, and was called *Makkhalì*, after his mother; and by reason of his having been born in a *gòsàla* or 'cow-house,' he received the additional appellation *gòsàla*. One day he followed his master with a large pot of oil; and the latter perceiving his servant was on slippery, muddy ground, desired him to be on his guard. But not listening to his advice, he walked carelessly, and the result was that he stumbled upon a stump and fell down with his heavy load, breaking the pot of oil. Fearing that his master would punish him for his misconduct, Gòsàla began to run away. His master soon pursued him and seized him by his

garments, but they loosening Gòsàla effected his escape, naked. In this state he entered a city and passed for a *Digambara* Jaina, or Buddha, and founded the sect which was named after him. "He falsely believed," says Col. Sykes, in the same Essay from which I have quoted above, "that the good and evil of mankind did not result from previous actions, but were accidental. His doctrine, therefore, was that of chance."

3. *Nigantha nàtha puttra* was the founder of a third Sect. He was the 'son' (*puttra*) of *Nàtha*, a husbandman; and because he boasted of an acquaintance with the entire circle of the Arts and Sciences, and moreover pretended to have destroyed the *gaṇṭha*, the 'cores' or 'knots' of *keles*, he was called *Nigantha*, or *Nirgantha*. He, too, laid claim to the high sanctity of an *Arahanta*, and preached doctrines, which were soon embraced by thousands. He held that it was sinful to drink cold water,—'Cold water,' he said, 'was imbued with a soul. Little drops of water were small souls, and large drops were large souls.' He also declared that there were three *dandas* or agents for the commission of sin, and that the acts of the body (*kāya*), of the speech (*vāk*), and of the mind (*ñāna*), were three separate causes, each acting independently of the other. "His heresy consisted (says Col. Sykes) in maintaining that sins and virtues and good and evil equally resulted from destiny; and that the practice of the doctrine could not save any one from his fate."

4. A fourth was the servant of a noble family. Having run into debt, he fled from his creditors, and having no means of livelihood at the village to which he repaired, he became a practiser of austerities, after shaving his head, and putting on a 'mean garment made of hair;' from which circumstance he received the appellation of *Ajita kesakambala*. Amongst other doctrines which distinguished him from the rest of the *Titthiyas* was that by which he invested the three kingdoms of nature with a soul. He held that man and beast, and every creeping thing, and fowl of the air, as well as all trees and shrubs, had a *jīrā*, or intelligent and sentient soul, endued with body, and consequently composed of parts.

'The person,' said he, 'who took away the life of a being was equally guilty with the man who ate the flesh of his dead body. One who cut down a tree, or destroyed a creeper, was as guilty as a murderer. And he who broke a branch was to be regarded as one who deprived another of his limbs.' These doctrines procured for him many followers, and they soon exceeded five thousand! Col. Sykes says, upon the authority already referred to, that this sectarian teacher "maintained that destiny could be forced, namely, that happiness could be obtained which did not result from a previous existence. The practice of this doctrine consisted in wearing coarse garments, tearing out the hair, exposing the nostrils to smoke, and the various parts of the body to fire; in short, subjecting the body to every kind of cruel penance on the conviction that sufferings on earth would ensure happiness hereafter."

5. *Sanjaya bellathi*, who had an awkward-looking head, was also a slave by birth. Obtaining his freedom from his master, he applied himself to study; and when he had become a great proficient in different branches of learning, he proclaimed himself a *Buddha*. He taught as a distinguishing feature in his doctrines, that man in an after-birth would be as he is now. 'In the transmigration of the soul,' he said, 'it assumed the identical bodily form which it had retained before death. There could be no change of person. Whosoever is now great or mean; a man or a *deva*, a biped, a quadruped, or a milleped: without feet or hands, or with deficient members of the body, will be exactly the same in the next birth.'

According to the Chinese books from which Colonel Sykes has quoted, the heresy of this person "consisted in believing that it was not necessary to search for the doctrine in the sacred book, but that it would come spontaneously when the ages of births and deaths had been passed through. He also believed that after 80,000 Kalpas the doctrine was obtained without effort."

6. *Kakudha Katyayana* was a foundling—the offspring of an illicit intercourse. His mother, who was a poor low caste

person, had no house to live in, and was delivered of him under a *Kakudha* (Pentaptura Arjuna, Rox.) tree, where she left him. A Brahman who picked him up, from thence adopted him as his son, and named him *Katyayana*, with the prefix of *Kakudha*, because he was found under a tree of that name. Upon the death, however, of his adopted father, Katyayana found himself in difficult circumstances, and resorted to different means and ways of procuring a livelihood—all of which failing, he became an Ascetic, and established himself on a large mound of earth, where he preached his austerities as a teacher of high sanctity. Like Niganthaputta, Katyayana also declared that cold water was imbued with a soul. His heresy, according to the Chinese legends, consisted in asserting that some of the laws were appreciable by the senses, and some not.

Whilst such doctrines gained an immense number of followers; whilst the world was resounding with the noise of the philosophy of the Gymnosophists; whilst Society was greatly divided by the dissensions of religionists;—when many causes predisposed the public mind to a change; when, “through the indolence of the Brahmans, the Vedas and their accompaniments had been neglected;”<sup>1</sup> and when ‘many people walked about in the world saying *I am Buddha*, *I am Buddha*, thus assuming the name of the great;’<sup>2</sup> the son of a powerful monarch that reigned at Kapilavastu, on the borders of Nepal, started as a *Buddha*, announcing himself as ‘the true Jaina,’ ‘the teacher of the three worlds,’—‘wiser than the wisest,’ and ‘higher than the highest;’ and proclaiming the doctrine of VIRTUE, which soon won its way to the hearts of a people ‘whose inclinations had already been imbued with admiration of this quality in their own ancient system.’

It has already been stated that he was a prince. That he received an education more than suited to his princely rank

<sup>1</sup> Buddhavaṃsa.

<sup>2</sup> Imasmin lōke ahan Buddhō ahan Buddhō ti uggaṭasa nāman gaheṭvā bahujanā vicharantī.—*Comment to the Majjima Nikāya*.

appears clearly enough from the abstruse doctrines of his Philosophy. From his discourses,<sup>1</sup> which relate to the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅga*, he was doubtless well versed in Brahmanical lore. The "sixty-four alphabets" which he mastered, according to the *Lalita Vistara* (a book of no authority), may be more imaginary than real. Yet that he learnt most of the Arts and Sciences usually cultivated amongst the Indians may be believed. The Buddhavansa refers to his other accomplishments, and in the usual phraseology of Oriental exaggeration, he is said to have excelled a Samson in strength. Many of his feats in archery are detailed "in proof of his accomplishments in martial deeds." They were exhibited to prove his right to the hands of "the daughters of the proud Sakya tribes."<sup>2</sup>

The period that he passed as a *laïc* was indeed short. Yet in that short period of 29 years he had enjoyed life to his heart's content. Revelling in the luxuries of the State, surrounded by a host of damsels, and attended by his bands of female musicians, he dwelt in the three 'palaces adapted for the three seasons.' The *Ramma* of nine stories he occupied during one; the *Surama* of seven at another; and the *Subha* of five at a third.<sup>3</sup>

A mind, however, constituted such as Siddharta's was, soon became satiated. The sharp edge of enjoyment had been speedily blunted. The zest of carnal pleasures had gradually subsided. He had not been long a father before he became disgusted with life. The form of a decrepit old man, bent with age and emaciated by disease, informed him of his own future condition. The lifeless body of one who had previously moved like himself, reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and of his own approaching dissolution. When he was pondering on these things, and the Brahmanical Golden rule—that "religious austerity was the summit of excellence;"<sup>4</sup> and the figure of an Ascetic had arrested his gaze,—his mind was at once made up to renounce the world,

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<sup>1</sup> See Ambatta Suttan, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Buddhavansa.

<sup>3</sup> Idem.

<sup>4</sup> Dhammapada—Buddha-Vagga.

its vanities, and its troubles. He preferred seclusion to the ceaseless pleasures of Society; and the yellow garment of a mendicant to the purple robes of state. In his estimation 'Heaven was superior to a Universal Empire, and the results of a *Sotapatti* to the dignities of the Universe.'<sup>1</sup>

Whilst, therefore, "his female bands were playing airs on musical instruments"—whilst "the beauties of the Sākya tribes were yet hymning forth the canticles of triumph and gratulation"—amidst all the enjoyments of life and the Oriental sports of the Park;—when, too, the national festivities of the City were in the thick; and when his beloved wife had been just delivered of a son—*Siddhārtha* departed!<sup>2</sup> He fled as from a pursuing enemy. He escaped as from a huge bôa ready to devour him. He fled and embraced Ascetism. He became *Buddha*; and after six years of seclusion, established his religion, which is called his *Dhamma*, or, as we name it, *Buddhism*.

Whilst other Teachers declared 'religious austerity to be the height of excellence,' Buddha taught it to consist in "Nibban." He set aside animal sacrifices. He held that no penance effaced sin. In his opinion the worship of the Gods and Manes availed nothing. With the exception of these and a few other matters, however, the Philosophy which Gôtama taught was not altogether new. It agreed in most essential matters with that of the Brahmans. The Ecclesiastical discipline of the one was equally that of the other—and the sameness of doctrine Gôtama traces to a piracy by the Brahmans of the doctrines of his predecessor Kassapa, and not to a *plagiarism* by himself of Brahmanical doctrines.<sup>3</sup>

Be this, however, as it might, the very doctrines of Gôtama proclaim the non-existence of *dhamma* before his advent. In the *abuddhôt* period which preceded his manifestation the *dhamma* had vanished. The agreement, therefore, between his doctrines and those of the Brahamans (if we, as we must,

<sup>1</sup> Dhammapadam; *end of Loka Vagga*.

<sup>2</sup> See Ambatta Sutra.

<sup>3</sup> Buddhavansa.

divest him of the Inspiration to which he lays claim), leads to the irresistible conclusion that (in the language of Hodgson) Buddhism "arose out of those prior abominations which had long held the people of India in cruel vassalage to a bloated priesthood."

It is, indeed, not a little remarkable that the religion which had thus sprung out of Brahmanism soon out-numbered its parent. Some of the causes which led to this result demand attention. At first, doubtless, the different motives which influenced conversions were those common to all countries and all nations. "They were (as remarked by Gibbon) often capricious and accidental. A dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow,"<sup>1</sup> served to create a deep and lasting impression. The Buddhist annals represent Brahmins as being "indolent" at this time;<sup>2</sup> and we also perceive that the public mind was predisposed to a change. The character, too, of the individual who preached the new doctrine was not without its influence. Gôtama was a *prince*. He was descended from the renowned Sākya tribe. He was the son of a king. He had left the luxuries of a principality for the privations of mendicancy. He had deserted the throne of a king for the pulpit of a monk. Nay, more, he had renounced the world to accomplish the salvation of men. He was humble in his deportment. He was pious in his conduct. His admonitions came with the authority of a prince, the affection of a parent, and the sincerity of a friend. Such a person was rare—such conduct uncommon. It soon attracted attention. It was not only perceptible to the mind, it was also seen with the eye, people heard of it with their ears. It, therefore, served to them as an "*outward sign*." It was, indeed, a 'visible power.' It inspired them with confidence. It had a *powerful influence*.

The example of princes and nobles may also be mentioned.

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<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, VI. p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Sumangala Vilasini.

It had its due weight—*Yatà rajà tatà prajāh*: ‘As is the King, so are the subjects.’<sup>1</sup> This is the case in all countries, but peculiarly so with the people of the East. At the first dawn of Buddhism they had, as they still have, much in common with children. Like children they clung to their parental kings. Like children they listened to their parental advice. Above all they imitated their example, and embraced Buddhism. Other causes conspired to accelerate conversions. In the infancy of the Buddhist Church, its founder was not scrupulous as to admissions into the priesthood. He permitted the branded thief as well as ‘the proclaimed criminal’ to enter it.<sup>2</sup> He drew no distinction between the male and the female. He gave admission to the boy as well as the adult. He did not insist upon the consent of parents. The slave found a retreat in the seclusion of a monastery. Those who had been affected with infectious diseases were associated with the healthy priests. The priesthood became the refuge of those who had been pursued by the fury of creditors. The enlisted soldier deserted the service of his country and entered the *Panna Sālā*. It was, however, not till large numbers had embraced the new faith, thousands had entered the priesthood; and there was therefore not the same necessity for unlimited liberality in Ecclesiastical matters, that Gôtama laid down various restrictions. It was then, and not before, that inquiry was made as to any incurable disease of the candidate for Holy Orders. It was then, and not before, that regard was had to his being ‘a free man’ and ‘free from debt.’ It was then, too, that he was required to show that he was ‘not enlisted as a soldier,’ and that ‘he had his parents’ permission to become a recluse.’<sup>3</sup>

Amongst other causes, *Religious Toleration*, by which the Government of Buddhist Monarchs was distinguished, was not without its salutary effect on the spread of the new religion. That, when Buddhism arose, and kings and princes had enlisted their sympathies in its cause, the pre-existing

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<sup>1</sup> Old Pali Proverb.

<sup>2</sup> Mahâ Vagga.

<sup>3</sup> The Laws or the Priesthood.



Brahmans and Sectarrians were not persecuted, is a fact. Every one was allowed the free choice of a creed. No one lost a single state privilege; no one was deprived of his caste; and no one was subjected to any degradation by reason of the faith he preferred. Indeed, no form of faith was made *the Established Religion*. Notwithstanding the predominance of Buddhism, the Brahmans, too, enjoyed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion. It was left unmolested. Its forms of worship were not reproached. Its professors were not reviled. They were not hindered in the exercise of their rites. Even the noisy and turbulent ceremonials of their Church received not the impediments created by the modern Police Regulations of far more liberal Governments. This was not all. Though Buddhism became 'the State religion,' yet the services of the Brahmans were not less in requisition than before. They were not excluded from their wonted avocations. They lost not their civil or political power. They still continued the *Prôhita*<sup>1</sup> Ministers of the Sovereign. They performed the greatest of all state ceremonies—the Consecration of Kings. They presided over all the various universities of the Empire. They were the *râja gurus* of the kingdom,—the most learned physicians of the people; and the Astrological or Astronomical Professors of the state. They received the same respect which was shown to the Buddhist priests. The people were enjoined to 'bestow gifts on Brahmans as well as on Sramanas.' The Rocks of Girnar, Dhali, and Kapurdigiri proclaim to this day the *religious toleration* of Piyadâsi, the most powerful and zealous of all Buddhist monarchs.

I have elsewhere expressed a conjecture as to the time when this state of things ceased. I shall now proceed with the subject, and with another cause for the wide extension of Buddhism—the *popularity of its doctrines*.

'Universal Equality' is a feeling inherent in the human mind. The first approach to a breach of this heavenly right,

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<sup>1</sup> The domestic Chaplain, who was also a minister of state.

the slightest deviation from it, socially or politically, creates a feeling of uneasiness and even envy. No jealousy is more deep rooted or more inveterate than that which is occasioned by the deprivation of one's natural right in this respect. The feeling of the Indian classes, who were at this time bound hand and foot by a horrid system of caste by Brahmanical exclusiveness, may be easily conceived. All felt the deep degradation of their position, except the highest class of the highest caste. All, except that class, eagerly looked for emancipation. All, therefore, except that class, hailed with no ordinary feelings of pleasure the doctrine of *Universal Equality* which Gôtama preached. All with that single exception at first regarded the preacher as a benefactor, and his doctrine with admiration. But when those doctrines had been actually reduced to practice; when they saw the Kshetriya princes associated with Brahman converts—the Vaisya traders with the *Sudra* outcasts; and that all were placed upon the same level, subject to the same laws and in the enjoyment of the same privileges, the people received their benefactor with love, and made him an object of superstitious admiration. No wonder, then, that his religion was soon embraced by millions.

The last, though not the least cause which led to *conversions* was the mildness of Gôtama's *dhamma*; and this leads to the second head of my discourse.

## II.—THE DOCTRINES OF BUDDHISM.

But before I proceed to give you a popular account of them, permit me to say a few words against a commonly received error—that Buddhism sanctions *Idol worship*. It is, indeed, remarkable that no religion in the world, that we are aware of, originated in the worship of idols. The Greeks, it is believed, at first worshipped 'an invisible God.' The ancient Persians 'thought it impious to exhibit the Creator under a human form.'<sup>1</sup> The Jews originally had "no other Gods" but Jehovah, whom they were interdicted from repre-

senting by "any graven image, or the likeness of any thing." The primary doctrine of Brahmanism was "the unity of God," "whom they worshipped without a symbol." Buddhism, too, gave no sanction to idol worship. Its introduction was long after the death of Gôtama. In all countries, and amongst all nations, it originated from a desire to transfer from the mental to the natural eyes the sight of the object of adoration.

Man wants more than *abstraction*. He understands not mere verbiage, without an image to represent the idea conveyed by language. He desires (in the language of Mahindu) 'to have an object whom he could salute, before whom he could prostrate himself, at whose presence he could rise, and to whom he could pay reverent attention.'

It is in the very nature of man to long for a leader, and to set up a chief. The more ignorant the community, the greater is the desire manifested in this respect. As a child lives in the trust of that security which parental protection affords, so does the ignorant man look for the prop and support of a *leader*. Hence, the *monarchical* is the form of government which meets with general approbation. The author of our being saw this, when He promised "to dwell among the children of Israel," and "went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire," and when, too, He promised His presence "whenever two or three meet in His name." This inherent feeling of dependence on a higher being is evidenced by the fact that the Israelites, treated as they were by the Almighty, could not bear the prolonged absence of their leader, and longed for "gods which should go before them." In our own Island, after the Singhalese had deposed their King, and Ceylon had been placed under the Sovereign of England, whom they never saw, their uneasiness was great indeed. They wanted some one to be their leader, and a small section of misguided Kandians set up a *thief* as their king.<sup>1</sup> They preferred a

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<sup>1</sup> See Blue Books of Ceylon for 1850.

vagabond whom *they saw*, to the Queen of England, or her representative, whom *they had never seen*. This feeling is, however, not confined to the State. It equally extends to the *Church*. The human mind yearns after some "visible and tangible object of worship." It loves to retain some relic of those whom it adores. As a mother would often retain a lock of hair of a deceased child, or a lover preserve as a token of remembrance some little trinket of her who inspired him with love, so the votaries of deities, the enthusiastic followers of religious teachers, upon the reflection that the object of their worship was no more and could not be seen, have "substituted *visible* for *invisible* objects." Thus the Greeks created innumerable gods and goddesses. The Persians transferred their worship from 'the supreme mind' to the 'lamp of day.' The Brahmans have formed 330,000,000<sup>1</sup> deities, around whom they could burn incense. The Jews 'fell down and worshipped a molten calf.' Even into the churches of Jehovah the 'jealous God,' did His followers introduce idols of the Virgin Mother, and the representatives of Saints. Nor were the Buddhists an exception to the rule. Upon the death of the Sage, his followers preserved his bones and teeth. This they did at first from no other feeling than that which is common in the human breast—*chittan pasadessanti*—'to cause the mind to be composed.'<sup>2</sup> All Buddhist countries vied with each other in the collection of the Relics. A lock of his hair and his *givaṭṭa*<sup>3</sup> were enshrined at Mahiyangana. Asôka built 84,000 monuments embodying the sacred relics. It was these that Mahindô characterized as *Buddha* himself, when he said, Mahâ râjâ, our divine teacher has long been out of our sight; for, said he, 'whenever his sacred relics are seen our vanquisher himself is seen.'<sup>4</sup> What was seen with the eye was the better fixed in the mind. The outward and visible signs were tokens of an inward and intellectual idea of the object of adoration.

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<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's India, I. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Collar-bone.

<sup>2</sup> Dipâvansa.

<sup>4</sup> Mahâvansa.

But Buddhism does not recognize Image-worship. Although the Chinese and Ceylon Buddhists have a legend to the effect that whilst Gôtama was alive, a *Pilime* statue of that Sage was made by the orders of the King of Kôsala; and although the Tibetan annals speak of Gôtama having expatiated upon the advantages arising from laying up his image;<sup>1</sup> and although *Divya Avadâna* of the Nipal collection gives a story as to Gôtama's having recommended Bumbi Sâra to send a portrait of the Sage to Rudrayâna, King of Rôruka;<sup>2</sup> yet all this is regarded by the intelligent portion of the Buddhists in Ceylon as unfounded on fact; and therefore an invention of later times. A careful examination of Buddhist doctrines furnishes us with no authority at all for image worship; all that Gôtama left behind, as a substitute for himself after death, being his own doctrines *the dhamma*. His words were, 'Anando, let the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which have been propounded to and impressed on thee by me, stand after my demise in the place of thy Teacher.'<sup>3</sup> Yet the prevalence of image worship is great indeed in Buddhistical countries. When it was first introduced among the Buddhists of India and Ceylon does not clearly appear, but from the conduct of Asôka, who recognizes nothing of the kind in his Pillar Inscriptions, we may conclude that image worship was an innovation introduced at a period later than the date of the Inscriptions. The earliest mention of images in Ceylon is in the Mihintali Inscription of 241 A.D., which speaks of "image houses." Two hundred years afterwards, 410 A.D., Fa Hian saw "an image of blue Jasper in the Temple at Anurâdhapura." There is, however, much reason to believe that the images which were introduced into the Buddhist temples had not been originally intended for *worship*, any more than the statues of kings which were anciently placed side by side with the idols of Buddha and the devas. Speaking of these statues, says Colonel Forbes,

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<sup>1</sup> As. Res., xx. p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Life in Ancient India, p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Sumangala Vilasini; See B. J. vol. vi. p. 512.

‘In the Mahâ rāja Vihâra there are upwards of fifty figures of Buddha, most of them larger than life; also a statue of each of the devas, Saman, Vishnu, Nâta, and the devî Pattani, and of two kings *Valanganbahu* and *Kîrti Nisanga*.’

The period, then, at which the pre-existing idols became objects of worship was probably the time when Brahmanical rites became blended with those of the Buddhist Church—when she came to recognize the *Samyak Dristi* gods of the Hindu Pantheon—when she built temples for the worship of Vishnu—when she built an idol of him whom she considered “a supporting deity” of Gôtama—and when she commenced to make offerings to his idol, which stood alongside of Buddha.

As idol worship is conducted in honour of Buddha, and upon the supposition that it confers *spiritual* benefit, so likewise his doctrines are recited for the same end, and with a view also to avert *temporal* dangers. But there is no more authority for the last than for the first. The *Pârîtta*, or the use of *exorcism*, is frequently resorted to, as a protection against apprehended danger from disease, or demoniac influences; but upon a careful examination of the discourses of Gôtama, it would seem to have been only *assented to*, but not enjoined, as a means for placating the demons. That is to say, although the study and frequent repetition of his discourses were recommended in place of himself ‘as the *teacher*,’ yet it does not appear that Gôtama believed any *temporal* benefit could be achieved by “exorcism,” beyond imparting religious consolation. And the extent to which it was authorized may be gathered from the *Pârîtta* ceremony itself. When Gôtama was dwelling on *Gijjakuta*, and Wessavana, the king of the Yakkhas, once called on the Sage; the former, in course of conversation, alluded to the aversion of the *Yakkha* races to Puddha. The cause of it is stated to have been the inhibition of Buddha against their own ‘mal-practices, such as life-slaughter, theft, lewdness, lying, and drunkenness.’ From this aversion, which in savage tribes was tantamount to *hate*, the followers of Gôtama, as well as

the jungle Ascetic, suffered in various ways. Wesavanna, the king of the Yakkhas, who was an admirer of the Sage, was therefore desirous of averting these dangers from his own subjects. He wished to protect and defend the priests in their 'solitary retirements, free from noise and clamour.' He was anxious to keep them from harm's ways. He purposed to introduce peace into their cells. To effect all this it was necessary 'to *placate* the demons;' and this, again, could only be effected by an authoritative edict of his own. That edict is contained in the *Atánātiya*. It commenced with the virtues of Gôtama's predecessors. It alluded to Gôtama's own beneficence. It recounted the honours and worship which he had exacted from devas and men; and from Wesavanna himself. It enjoined the priest to learn and recite the hymns in which the above was recited. It declared the privileges of those who used it. It enjoined the demons "not *even to approach* with an evil design" a person who had recited the *Pārīta*. It imposed a penalty for a breach of this command. The law of the king was thus made perfectly binding on his subjects. It was delivered; and Gôtama "*consented to it by his silence.*"

This, it is apprehended, was the origin of the *Pārīta* ceremony. To the *Atanatiya* have, however, been added, in course of time, various other discourses of Buddha, which had the tendency to restore peace and quiet to the sufferers, and to give "religious consolations" to the diseased. This appears from the discourses themselves, which contain no declaration of any 'temporal benefit.' Take the *Kassapa Bājīhanga* as an example. Kassapa was grievously ill, and Gôtama visited him in his cave, and found him 'without ease and repose.' The Sage preached on *contemplation, ascertainment of the truth, perseverance, contentment, placidity, tranquillity, and equanimity*. And these 'several sections of moral science' he recited, not as a *direct* antidote against the ills of the flesh, but as a palliative to the sufferings of the mind, and as a *sine qua non* "for the attainment of knowledge, wisdom, and deliverance from transmigration." The priest recovered; but it is not stated he did so by the direct in-

fluence of the admonition. Such are the discourses added to *Atánatiya*, which form the *Hymns* usually sung to "the praise and glory" of *Buddha*, and to secure a deliverance from temporal ailments. Connected with the subject in hand, a few words on the origin of *Chèteyas* or *Thupas* may not be uninteresting:—

The *Parinibban Suttan* states that they "originated" upon the death of Gôtama, when "eight *Thupas* were built over the corporeal relics, a ninth over the *Kumbhan*, and a tenth over the charcoal of his funeral pile."<sup>1</sup> And it would seem from the same *Suttan* that *Chètiyàni* existed in several parts of the *Majjhima desa* even during the lifetime of Gôtama. The *Atthakathà* explains that the *Chètiyàni* were not "Buddhistical shrines," but *Yakkhattànàni* 'erections for demon worship.' That they partook of the nature of both *Temple* and *Thupa* may be inferred from the fact that whilst they were monuments of worship, they served also as rest-houses for the weary traveller. Gôtama himself repaired to the *Chèpala Chèteya* for rest, and he there expatiated on its splendour as well as that of many others.<sup>2</sup> It was, doubtless, from a contemplation of the busy throng of religions Enthusiasts who crowded these monuments of worship, that Gôtama gave his sanction for the erection of the *thúpas* over his own relics, and those of his disciples. Yet from the fact of "Universal Monarchs" being placed in the same category with *Buddha* and his *Sāvakas*, it would seem that the sage had no other object save that which we have for building places for divine worship—to make men religious.

Gôtama's words were: *Tattha yé mālān vā gandhan vā vaṇṇakan vā ārōpessanti abhivādessanti vā chittan vā pasādessanti tesān tan bhavissati dīgha-rattan hitāya sukhāya. . . . Ayan tassa Bhagavato arahatō sammā sambuddhassa thupō —ti Ananda bahujaṇō chittan pasadenti tē tattha chittan pasādetvā kāyassa bhēdā param maraṇā sugatīm, saggan lōkan uppajjanti—*M.P.S. v. 26, 27.

'If in respect of *thupas* any should set up flowers, scents,

<sup>1</sup> See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Suttas,' p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 40.



or embellishments, or should worship (them), or should (by such means) cause their minds to be *purified*,<sup>1</sup> such acts will conduce to their well-being and happiness. . . . Ananda, many thinking "that this is *thūpa* of the adorable, the sanctified, the omniscient, supreme Buddha," compose their minds; and when they have caused their minds to be *cleansed*, they, upon the dissolution of the body after death, are born in a glorious heavenly world.'

I now return to the doctrines of Buddhism, or the religion of Gôtama. It is defined by himself to mean "the path of immortality."<sup>2</sup> It acknowledges man's sinful nature—represents him as altogether sinful, and his heart 'deceitful' and 'desperately wicked.' It enjoins the necessity of regeneration, of subjugating the evil passions, and a thorough change of the heart. It says in plain words, that neither the extraction from the noblest of progenitors, nor the influence of education, will secure him salvation. It admonishes him to abstain from covetousness. It warns him against "the cares of life," to the neglect of religion; against pride and "self-righteousness, which make a god of himself;"<sup>3</sup> and against evil-speaking, lying, slandering, and unprofitable conversation. It inculcates all the virtues which ennoble the soul: patience, forbearance, forgiveness, charity, chastity, humility, gratitude, obedience, etc., etc. And these it sums up in one Golden rule which it enacts, 'Reverence to Parents, Charity to the Poor, Humanity to Animals, and Love towards all Mankind.'

Whilst we are thus enabled to hold up some of its doctrines to the admiration of the world, it must, however, be borne in mind that the religion which has "immortality" for its end, seeks not the eternal joys of heaven, but the immolation of life,—the cessation from existence as "no good equal to it"—and the extinction of being as "the best thing;"<sup>4</sup> and that the observance of religion or *brahmacha-*

<sup>1</sup> *Passādessanti*, 'cause to be purified or cleansed,' or to 'bring about a religious turn of mind.'

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapada—Appamāda Vagga, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Attanagalu Vansa, Pali Version.

<sup>4</sup> Dhammapada; Sukha-Vagga.

*riyā*<sup>1</sup> is not "perfect freedom," but a life of asceticism, fettered by restraints of no ordinary hardship. Buddhism, indeed, ignores what we call the "*soul*." It denies the existence of a *creator*. It knows of no being who may be called *Almighty*. According to its teachings, all the elements of existence are dissolved at death; and yet life transmigrates! The greatest happiness is therefore devised to be *Nirvāṇa*.

Upon each of these points I purpose to say a few words; and

1. Buddhism denies anything like the Brahman *ātman*, or own-self, or *paramātman*, 'eternal-self,' or what we call 'the soul.' It forbids us to say "*I am*," or "this is *I*." Man is composed of five *khandas*—'organized body,' 'sensation,' 'perception,' 'discrimination' (including all the powers of reasoning), and 'consciousness.' And it cannot be predicated of any of these, or of their attributes the 12 *āyatanāni*, which are 'the eye and the objects of sight, the ear and sound, nose and smell, the tongue and flavour, the body and touch;' 'mind or power of thought' and 'objects of thought'<sup>2</sup>—that they constitute 'ego.' Of each of the above, Gôtama teaches—'*I am not this*'—'*this is not my soul*'—*na m'eso attā*—'This is not a soul to me.' It is a nonentity. His words are: "Priests, it should be distinctly known as a fact, that the *rūpa* or perceptible body is transient,—that that which is impermanent is (full of) sorrow—that that which is sorrow is not the (*self*) soul; that any thing which is not the *self* is 'not mine.' 'It is not *ego*'—'*it is not my soul*.'<sup>3</sup> It is simply 'existence' or life."

2. Life, according to Buddhism, had no intelligent Creator. It was the result of chance—not of design. It was the consequence of *Kamma*, 'good or evil merit,' produced by *avidyā* or 'ignorance.'<sup>4</sup> Here the creator is not an active agent. He represents nothing corporeal or spiritual. It is an abstract

<sup>1</sup> See Mahavagga.

<sup>2</sup> See the Rev. D. J. Gogerly's Translation in the "Friend," vol. ii. p. 87, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> "Ceylon Friend," April, 1830.

quality, without itself a cause or Creator. One abstraction produces another abstraction. The last, a third; and so on—until we have ‘life,’ this form of human existence. Gôtama himself, according to a beautiful figure of speech in the Institutes of *Manu*,<sup>1</sup> compares man to a ‘mansion;’ and designates ‘the first cause’ by the name of *gahâ-kâraka*,<sup>2</sup> or ‘house-builder.’ But he exults with joy that the *creature* has risen above the Creator; and that the architect had no longer the power to build for him another house! The creature is thus not responsible to the “First cause,” which lays down no laws for his guidance, and is unable to do anything either for good or for evil. The Creator, as we have seen, does not control life’s existence. Indeed, he bears no more relation to man than the leaf does to the butterfly which leaves it after various changes. The creature, therefore, is the *Lord* over his own life. It was in accordance with such doctrines that Sirisangabô, one of our ancient monarchs, exclaimed in offering his head as a propitiation, ‘I am the Lord over my own body!’<sup>3</sup>

3. Thus, there is no Supreme being who may be called *Almighty*. True it is that Gôtama is styled ‘the greatest of all beings;’ but his own conduct and doctrines show that he was not omnipotent.

It is stated in the *Parinibban Suttan* of the Buddhistical

<sup>1</sup> Institutes, cap. vi. §§ 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Through transmigrations of numerous births have I run, not discovering, (though) seeking the house-builder: birth again-and-again [is] sorrow. O house-builder! thou art seen. Thou shalt not again build a house [for me]. All thy ribs are broken [by me]. The apex of the house is destroyed. [My] mind is inclined to *nibban*. [It] has arrived at the extinction of desire.’

*Note*.—It may be remarked that *anekajâti sansâran*, which is in the accusative, should be treated as a noun in the vocative, owing to its connection with an intransitive verb. *Sandhiwissan*, ‘I will run,’ is in the *bhavissanti* or ‘future tense,’ and not *conditional*. Owing, however, to a Rule by which the future takes an *ajjatanî* or a past signification [see Pânini, iii. 2, 112; also Ballantyne’s *Laghu kaumudi*, p. 314, No. 799], both Mr. Turner and Mr. Hardy have correctly rendered this into the *ajjatanî*, in which sense the Commentator interprets it, *sansârîn* or *apara paran anuvicîharin*. ‘My mind is inclined to *nibban*’ is, as I conceive, the nearest meaning which can be assigned to the words, ‘the mind has attained [to the knowledge of] destruction.’ See Mr. Fausbøll’s remarks on these difficult verses in his *Dhamma padan*, p. 320; and the text at p. 28 of the same work.

<sup>3</sup> Saka sarirassa ahamêva—Attanagaluvansa.

annals that a being like *Buddha* who had attained to the sanctification of the four *iddhipada*, may live any period of time, even a *kappa*, if he should desire it. But I need not tell you that this is a myth. When in "four-score years" Gôtama's age had "attained the *fullest maturity*," and death stared him in the face, he was importuned by *Ananda*, his favourite disciple, "Lord Bagawa, vouchsafe to live a *kappa*,"<sup>1</sup>

This was, however, an impossibility. Gôtama knew this; and it is, indeed, melancholy to observe the quibble to which he resorts. He answers: "Afflict me not with unavailing importunity." *Ananda* could not believe his own senses, for what he had now heard militated against his master's doctrines of a previous day; and the former in language of remonstrance addressed Gôtama: "Lord, *from thyself* have I heard, and *by thyself* have I been taught, that to whomsoever is vouchsafed the sanctification of the four *iddhipada*, he may live a *kappa*; and *to thee*, Tathâgato, is vouchsafed that great power."

The Sage could not fail to perceive the force of *Ananda's* speech, not to call it *accusation*. He was driven to the necessity of making a reply; and he had no alternative but to resort to the paltry quibble of preferring a counter-charge against his accuser—viz. that 'he had failed in *his* duty to make the request when the announcement of Gôtama's approaching dissolution was *originally* made.' What signified that he was late? If it was a proper request, and he had the power to grant it, the *time* at which it was made was of no consequence, and could by no means affect the granting of the application.

But, according to the very doctrines of Buddhism, not only is it not true that a timely application from *Ananda* would have enabled him to prolong his life even to the extent of a *kappa*; but it is also not true that any being had the power to do so. Buddhism recognizes *predestination*; and it is made to appear in the *Parinibban Suttan* that 'the ap-

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<sup>1</sup> *Parinibban Suttan*.

proaching dissolution of Gôtama being irrevocably fixed, Mâra prevented Ananda from preferring his request.' Now, predestination is inconsistent with the almighty power here laid claim to. Predestination pre-supposes the absence of power. It takes away volition. It restricts action. It circumscribes power. It renders "importunity unavailing." "Gôtama's appointed time had come." He himself had declared it at the close of his probational meditation. He himself had stated that at the particular period of his manifestation, 'the term human existence was one hundred years,' and that it appeared to be the proper age for his advent.<sup>1</sup> He could not, therefore, add a minute to his term of existence. For, he was not Almighty.

This was so plain and clear, that the bigotted advocates of Buddhism have given up the line of defence adopted by the Sage himself, and have resorted to a still more miserable quibble of supporting his statement upon verbal grounds. Both Nâgasena in the *Milindappanna*, and Moggalliputta Tissa, the holder of the last convocation, in one of his *Vâdas*, states, that when Gôtama declared the power of one who had attained the four *iddhipâda* to live a *kappa*, or any part of a *kappa*, he only meant, in the ordinary acceptation of "*kappa*,"—"the *ordinary age* of man, which was 100 years." It is, indeed, true that *kappa* means "age," or "the period of existence."<sup>2</sup> But this is not its only meaning. Nor is this its ordinary acceptation. It also means an immense period of time during which the world itself lasts in each of its regenerations. Now, every one except an idiot, Nâgasena, and Moggalliputta Tissa, could perceive at a glance that Gôtama, in stating the *superior* power of one who had attained the four *iddhipâda*, did not refer to the inherent quality of humanity, the *ordinary* age of man, but alluded to what *ordinarily* man did not possess—a power to *prolong* life to the extent of a *kappa*. If, therefore, this meant "any period of time within the age usually allotted to men"—which, however, Ananda himself clearly ignores by his reiterated appli-

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<sup>1</sup> Buddhavansa.

<sup>2</sup> Gogerly: Wilson and Spiers.

cation, and Gôtama as clearly by his reply—that Sage laid down an absurdity. He declared what every idiot knew. He pronounced that, to be the reward of a particular kind of sanctity, which was simply an inherent quality of every man, however sinful. If, again, such was the meaning which Gôtama intended to convey, nothing could have been easier than to silence Ananda at once. For, at the time he importuned Gôtama to live a kappa or half of a kappa, Gôtama had, in point of fact, lived a much longer period than half of man's age.

4. From this digression I return to the subject, and to the *Ontology* of Buddhism. Although hells without number have, without a Creator, sprung up for the punishment of the wicked, yet it is not the sinner who is punished in them. Although Buddha has often declared his own identity with certain characters in the Jâtakas;<sup>1</sup> yet all this is not supported by his doctrines. According to those doctrines, the *nama* and *rupa* which constitute this life are not identical with the *nama* and *rupa* of the life hereafter.<sup>2</sup> One being therefore suffers for another. One's sins are visited upon another. The sinner and the sufferer are not therefore identical. 'If there is a dissolution of all the elements of existence at death, it follows that there is no hereafter, and no future world to that existence.'<sup>3</sup>

5. Yet the doctrine of Buddhism is, that life transmigrates; and that everything changes constantly from man to beast, from beast to fowl, and from fowl to creeping things. There is therefore an eternal cycle of existence. The law of merits and demerits alone causes the degree of happiness or misery of all beings. This also is full of uncertainty. Though merits are said to be more powerful than demerits; and however abundantly a being may perform meritorious

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<sup>1</sup> *e.g.* At the close of *Appanaka Jataka*, Buddha says:—"The former unwise merchant and his company are the present *Dêvadatta* and his disciples; and I was then the wise merchant."

<sup>2</sup> *Milindappanna*.

<sup>3</sup> Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, p. 396.

deeds, yet upon his worldly dissolution he can have no hope of happiness in an after-birth; for the demerits of a former existence might outweigh the good deeds of this life. He dies, therefore, "without hope," and, as we have already said, "without God."

Now, as already remarked, no religion has worked so great a revolution—no creed has had so many votaries—no faith has lasted so long a period, as Buddhism. Yet no religion is calculated to create a greater despondency in the human mind than Buddhism. Like the religion of the Christian, Buddhism may, perhaps, be "the bond of charity," "the curb of evil passions," "the teacher of morality;" but, decidedly, it is *not* "the consolation of the wretched," the support of the timid," and "the hope of the dying." There is nothing in it to cheer "the weary and the heavy-laden." There is nothing to give a hope to the guilty. There is nothing to encourage the penitent sinner. No encouraging words, such as "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out," are to be found in the Pitakattaya. No promise of forgiveness gives the Buddhist a hope of salvation. No "knock, and it shall be opened" welcome greets his ear. On the contrary, everything in the Buddhist Bible is calculated to alarm him. This in the language of Buddhism is indeed a state of things "full of evil, misery, and pain." Yes,—to one who has no notion of an eternal existence hereafter—to whom God hath not revealed by His Holy Spirit the unspeakable joys of heaven, *Life* is a dreary waste; existence is devoid of those fascinations which the Christian alone feels; and heaven is not a place of "rest," but a temporary habitation of enjoyment. In vain, therefore, are the efforts of a Missionary of the Cross to win the souls of the Buddhists by presenting before him scenes of heavenly bliss. Talk to him of 'that holy calm'—'that sweet repose'—'the Cherubim and the Seraphim that continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth'—of the throngs of lovely angels, who bow "towards either throne"—'with a shout

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet  
As from blest voices, uttering joy.'

Speak to him of 'Crowns of glory' 'inwove with amarant and gold'—of 'the hallelujahs of the glorified'—'the troops of sister spirits arrayed in the purest white'—of 'the ceaseless songs of sweet music.' Set before him in the most glowing language of poetry 'the palms of conquest'—'the beatific vision' and 'beatitude past utterance.' Picture to his mind's eye 'the sense of new joy ineffable diffused—love without end, and without measure grace'—'the near communion with God,' and the 'bright effluence of bright essence increate'—all appear to him infected with blemish, imperfection, and impermanence—all appears to him "foolishness;" aye, "the baseless fabric of a vision which leaves no wrack behind!" All *heavenly* to him is all what *earthly* is to the inspired Preacher, "vanity and vexation of spirit"—and why? Simply because *Heaven* to the Buddhist is not what it is to the Christian—

'The end of care, the end of pains.'

Existence in the eye of Buddhism is nothing but misery. It is connected with disease, decay, and death. It is subject to 'grief, wailing, pain, anguish, despair, and disappointment.' It resembles a blazing fire which dazzles the eye, but torments us by its effects. There is nothing real or permanent in the whole universe. "Everything perishes."

6. Nothing then remained to be devised as a deliverance from this evil but the destruction of existence itself. This is what the Buddhists call *Nirvana*.

So far as I can understand this abstruse doctrine, it is not Absorption. Viewed in every light in which the subject may be considered, and tested by all the definitions and arguments contained in the Canonical works on Buddhism, *Nibban* is (to use an expression of Professor Max Müller) *Nihilism*, the annihilation of existence, the same as the extinction of fire. That such is the fact appears also from the *pragna paramita*, and the Metaphysics of Kasyapa. It is, moreover, proved by the very nicknames which the Brahmans apply to their Buddhist opponents, viz. *Nastikas*—'those who maintain destruction or nihilism;' and *Sunyaradins*—'those who maintain that there is a universal void.'



A difference of opinion exists,<sup>1</sup> and that difference has arisen from the mode of teaching adopted by Buddhists, and the figures of speech contained in Buddhist works. As “nothing” or *Nihilism* is said to be a paradise or *immortality*, and he who denies a deity is himself deified,—*Nibban*, which has no locality, is compared to a “*City*.” From a belief that the subject is not easily comprehended, it is said ‘none could *perceive* it except a sanctified *Arahanta*.’ When people denied the truth of this doctrine, it was necessary to make a strong affirmation to the effect that ‘*Nirwana* is.’ These are, indeed, expressions which, without being retracted or explained, compelled even *Nagasena* to declare ‘the doctrine of *Nibban* was beyond all computation a *mystery*.’

Such briefly are the most important of the doctrines of Buddhism. And we shall now turn to the remaining point of inquiry :—

### III.—WHAT ARE ITS PROSPECTS ?

There are, indeed, good grounds for believing that Buddhism will, at no very distant period, disappear from this Island. There is, moreover, a hope for Ceylon, which, alas ! we have not for India. The two countries are, in this respect, at least, differently circumstanced ; and the difference is too wide to expect for both the same results from missionary labours, or to predict the same period of time for their conversion to Christianity. The hope for Ceylon arises from various considerations ; and we shall here notice the influence of Caste on religion. It is a fact that the Singhalese are not so much attached to the system of *Castes* as their neighbours on the Continent of India. Caste exists in Ceylon, but with greater force in India. Here it is a mere Custom, there a part of the Hindu national Institutes. Here it is more political than religious, there more religious than political. Here no man loses his Caste by the adoption of a new faith—there the Brahman becomes an utter outcast

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<sup>1</sup> There is much doubt in the world relative to *Nirwana*.—*Milindappasna*.

by changing his creed. Though demurred to at first in a well-known Hall by the higher classes of the Singhalese, we nevertheless find all castes and classes meeting together in the jury box with the greatest harmony. All alike sit on the same form in our Christian Churches; and all alike partake of the same cup, the wine that is distributed at the Lord's Supper. Wellales now follow different trades, which were anciently restricted to the lower orders; and occasionally marriages take place between persons of different castes. Caste is thus losing its iron grasp on the affections of the Singhalese. Although in many parts of the Island these changes take place unperceived and unreflected on by the people, yet in others, where they are fully alive to the innovations which affect their social condition, have we frequently heard the exclamation, "This is not surprising—it must take place—Buddha himself has declared it." Yes,—that great sage, like Mahomet, with a foresight and penetration of mind which deserve commendation, predicted the change: the abolition of caste. His words were, "at a distant period" (and now more than twenty-four centuries have elapsed from the date of the prediction) "princes will confer offices on mean people. The nobles will have no means of support. They will therefore give their children in marriage to the mean; and thus confusion of castes and classes will be the result. The low will become high, and the high low, and the nobles will be dependent upon the mean!"<sup>1</sup>

Combined with this state of things, which affords a help to Christianity, is the absence in the Buddhist mind of that warmth and fervour in behalf of his faith which exist in the votaries of other religions. The Buddhist looks upon Christianity without jealousy—nay, more, there is a disposition on his part to conform to the religion of the Bible along with the faith of his forefathers. Neither is this feeling a creature of modern and enlightened times. So far back as the age of the great Asôka, the liberal monarch of Asia,

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<sup>1</sup> Saddharmaratnâkara.

we find that far from any hostility being shown to other religions, Buddhists actually honoured them. Thus, in one of the inscriptions of that Buddhist sovereign, we find it declared that 'there are circumstances where the religion of others ought to be honoured, and in acting thus a man fortifies his own faith, and assists the faith of others. He who acts otherwise diminishes his own faith and hurts the faith of others.'<sup>1</sup>

Among the many helps to conversions to Christianity in this Island is the great desire manifested among the Singalese to be instructed in European science and literature.

Now, Buddhism mingles religion with science. The law of earthquakes is taught in the same books which contain admonitions for the salvation of man. The means for the attainment of *Nibban* are pointed out by the same teacher, who propounds that *eclipses* are caused by the monsters *Rahu* and *Khetu*. The doctrine of the earth being a firm flat, around Mount *Meru*, and twice seven circles of mountains and seas, rests upon the authority which inculcates *Silan* as the highest religious duty. The same *dhamma* which teaches that man's soul is a nonentity teaches also that the earth rests on water, water on wind, and the wind on air. These religious propositions are again so interwoven with the *physical* that we cannot well sever the one from the other. The overthrow of one must therefore affect the stability of the other. If one can be disproved, the other will share in that result. Many have already detected the errors in the Buddhist works. Already there are many who are converts to the European doctrine of 'the rotundity of the earth;' and the native mind is even now prepared to reject the absurdities upon this point in the legends of *Gôtama*. Already many Buddhists have rejected some books which their forefathers regarded as works of authority—already there are men who, though not Christians, yet disbelieve that the hollow on Adam's Peak was an impression left by *Gôtama*;

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<sup>1</sup> Girnar Inscript. in Bl. A.S. Journal.

and, already they are impressed with the impropriety of *Idol-worship*; and even orthodox Buddhists doubt that it was sanctioned by Buddha.

The English schoolmaster is abroad. The village *Pansals*, in which were hitherto congregated the youth of the surrounding hamlets, are deserted. The priesthood are thus deprived of their *Ebittayas*, those "bit-boys" who once formed their proud retinue. But the children, on the other hand, are better educated in Mission Schools, where, in addition to elementary instruction, they learn the Word of God.

Thus it cannot be doubted that, with the growth of intelligence, and the increase of scientific knowledge, the Singhalese will, ere long, perceive the errors of Buddhism; and that the detection of one error will lead to the discovery of another, and another, until at last the people will not only be constrained, but prepared in all soberness, to adopt the religion of the Bible.

A powerful means by which Buddhism is failing in the stand it had originally made in this Island is the discouragement which is offered to the native Pundits. They do not, under the British Government, derive any of the benefits or enjoy the privileges which were conferred on them in a by-gone day. The priesthood, from want of adherents to their faith, are more occupied with secular concerns than with the study of their scriptures. The books, too, are getting very scarce, and copyists still more so. "This process of decay," says Mr. Hardy, "is already apparent in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> There being no outward stimulus to exertion, the priests exhibit no enthusiasm of study, and many of them are unable to read at all"—I believe he meant *the Pali works of Buddhism*.

Another and yet more important cause affecting the state and prospects of Buddhism is the dissemination of Christianity through the agency of the missionary. Many who were Buddhists when they first entered the Mission Schools

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<sup>1</sup> Eastern Monachism, p. 366.

have become convinced, in the course of their education, of the errors of their religion, and of the truth of the Gospel, and have consequently abandoned their early faith and are now employed in the work of the missions, teaching their convictions to others, and preaching the Word of God. That same zealous missionary from whom I have just quoted says, and says it conscientiously and correctly—"I see before me looming in the distance a glorious vision, in which the lands of the East are presented in majesty—happy, holy, and free."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, there is a ray of light which will ere long burst into full day. Christianity is planted in the households of the Singhalese and in the hearts of the people. Its influence, though silently progressive, is yet felt in our everyday intercourse with our countrymen. The success of the missionary may be traced in the progressive change in the Singhalese mind.

Already there are thousands of Christians, *true Christians*, of all denominations, whether Roman Catholics or Protestants, who are not ashamed, as are the Hindus of Asia, to take up the cross of Jesus, and amidst their bigotted clansmen, to avow their belief in Him who for our sakes came down as the son of a carpenter, and had for His associates the poor fishermen of Galilee. But "however scanty may be the outward evidence of actual conversions," as remarked by Sir Emerson Tennent, "there are symptoms perceptible which afford good grounds of hope for the future."

Gôtama himself, with a penetrating mind and a capacious intellect, which take in not only the subtle philosophy of his creed, but what we are here called upon to admire the most, all the encouraging signs of the passing times, and the hopeless prospects of the future, predicted the downfall of Buddhism. He has given five signal epochs for the ascertainment of the declension of his doctrines. They are the following: The first, when the means by which the paths to Nirwana are attained, will be lost; the second, when the observance

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<sup>1</sup> Hardy on Buddhism, p. xiii.

of the precepts by the priesthood will be neglected; the third, when the greater part of the doctrinal writings, together with the Pali language in which they are written, will disappear; the fourth, when the priests will continue to degenerate, that is to say, they will begin to take life, and to plough and sow, and to walk about with a strip of cloth on their arms as a mark of their order; and the fifth, when Buddha's relics will disappear altogether.<sup>1</sup> For the consummation of all this, Gôtama has given the same period of time which God in his mercy has assigned for the manifestation of the Saviour—"forty centuries or 4000<sup>2</sup> years." Bold assertions! Extravagant hope! Yet it is not a little remarkable that more than half of this period has already elapsed. Two thousand four hundred and forty-nine years may seem to us earthly mortals, whose 'days' are 'as a shadow that passeth away,' or, 'as it were, a span long,' an immense long period of time. Yet in the sight of Him 'a thousand years are but as yesterday,' that which is 'past' is 'as a watch in the night.' He allowed 4000 years to pass before he produced "the seed of the woman" to "bruise the serpent's head." It was, nevertheless, "in the fullness of time." Twenty-three centuries, then, during which Buddhism has flourished, may not be a matter for surprise. "Buddhism, like all the ancient religions of the world, may have but served to prepare the way of Christ by helping, through its very errors, to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearnings of the human heart after the truth of God."<sup>3</sup> Of the predicted time, however, a period of nearly seventeen centuries still remains; and although the Buddhist books have not been lost, and the Pali language (which will form the subject of my next lecture) is still in a high state of cultivation, it is, nevertheless, certain that the extinction of Buddhism will take place before the remainder of the term

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<sup>1</sup> Saddhamaratnâkara.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Ceylon books represent this as 5000. But it is supposed to be a mistake.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Max Müller's Sanscrit Lit. p. 32.

shall have been added to the bygone period. And, with the signs of the times to which I have briefly adverted, we may reasonably anticipate the speedy arrival of that time when 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ;' when Jesus with his saints shall commence his reign of a 'thousand years;' when the nations will worship the one Jehovah; and when 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.'

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## LECTURE SECOND.

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE COLOMBO ACADEMY,

*On the 29th November, 1861.*

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THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES AND THEIR LANGUAGE,  
THE PĀLI.

FORTY-FIVE years before 'the conventional era' of the Singhalese did Gôtama proclaim the tenets of Buddhism. That religion, which was decidedly a modification of Brahmanism—devoid of its mystery, inhumanity, intolerance, and exclusiveness, and founded by a Kshatriya prince—was not long before it spread amongst the people, and became the State creed of the *Majjhima dēsa*. Kings were amongst his first disciples; thousands of Brahmins and fire-worshippers were reckoned amongst his votaries; and nobles, merchants, and itinerant traders formed his most attentive congregations.<sup>1</sup> Patronized by princes, supported by nobles, and encouraged by the State—the Sākya fraternity soon increased in numbers, enjoyed a much larger share of freedom than other denominations of ascetics, and exercised far greater privileges than even the Brahmins or the laymen of the realm.<sup>2</sup>

With such adventitious aid, Gôtama's doctrines were speedily disseminated far and wide. They went early into

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<sup>1</sup> See Pāpanchāsudānīya, vol. iii. p. 482. Here as elsewhere the references are to the writer's own MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Mahā Vagga of the Vinaya Pitaka.

*Pachchanta*<sup>1</sup> beyond the confines of the *Majjhima dēsa*. Wherever they went caravan-keepers carried the glad tidings of the new Teacher; merchants enlarged upon his virtues; and itinerant traders related his doctrines. Great was the joy of those who were brought to the knowledge of the word. “*Sādhu!*” “*Sādhu!*” exclaimed all who had heard it. Those who had come under its influence lost no time in following the sage. Kings deserted their thrones, governors and chieftains their high trusts, nobles and ministers their avocations; and all their happy homes, wives and children—for the yellow robe of the Sakya ‘mendicant’—*bhikkhus*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, at no distant period from their first promulgation, the *dhamma* became the household words of the people, the theme of the traveller, and the topic of epistolary correspondence between princes.

Although it is stated in the *Buddhavansa* that Gôtama, prompted by ‘a misgiving common to all Buddhas,’ was at first ‘reluctant to proclaim the dhamma,’ yet there seems to be no foundation for this assertion. For, as it is also stated, “he was destined<sup>3</sup> to save multitudes.” He was essentially *Satta* ‘the teacher.’ His peculiar vocation was to convert. No part of his career contradicts the belief that he was most solicitous for the dissemination of his *dhamma*. His whole life, after he had become Buddha, was devoted to its proclamation, its elucidation, and its exaltation. Seeing that ‘the harvest was great, but that the labourers were few,’ he directed that ‘no two priests should take the same road.’<sup>4</sup> As an encouragement to the first missionaries he declared that there were beings whose love for religion was not wholly extinguished; that their natural reluctance to hear the dhamma would vanish; and that there were others who could master it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word is used to express ‘foreign regions,’ the boundaries of which are given in the *Mahā Vagga Chammakkandaka* Sec.

<sup>2</sup> *Atthakathā* of Sanyutta Nikāya.

<sup>3</sup> *Buddhistical Annals* by Turnour—*Buddhavansa*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Maha Vagga*, lib. 1, p. kr.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*

To render moreover his religion agreeable to the people, Gôtama even relaxed the rigid rules of discipline which he had at first enacted. He altered them to suit the circumstances, and also the prejudices of men. Where ordination could not be conferred without the intervention of *ten* priests, he reduced the prescribed number by *one-half* in favour of foreign countries. Where a village was rugged, stony, and overrun with brambles and thistles, the priests were permitted to wear thicker shoes than usual. Where bathing was rendered necessary more frequently than was allowed, as in the case of the priests of Ougein, he relaxed the rule in their favour. Where the use of skins had been prohibited, an exception was made in favour of those who had a national predilection for their use.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the expedients adopted by Gôtama for disseminating Buddhism amongst the people. Yet the happiest device of all was to reject for his doctrines the sacred language of the Brahmans, and to adopt the vernacular dialect of his time, the Pâli.

The account given by the Singhalese of their sacred Buddhist books, which receive the appellation of Pittakattâya and the Atthakatha, is, that at the first convocation, which took place in the eighth year of King Ajâtasatta's reign (543 B.C.), the now existing orthodox version of Pittakattâya was rehearsed according, as the Brahmans say, to their *Sruti*,<sup>2</sup> and was defined and authenticated with such care and precision, as to fix the very number of syllables which it contained,—that certain comments called the *Atthakatha* were made at the same time; that at the 2nd and 3rd convocations, the Pittakattâya was *rehearsed* with a view to the suppression of certain schisms which had sprung up, and additional Atthakathâ were delivered, exhibiting the history of Buddhism

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<sup>1</sup> Mahâ Vagga, p. Rhu.

<sup>2</sup> 'What they have heard with their ears'—so likewise the Buddhists say with regard to a portion of the Pittakattaya:—*Evammè sutan ekan samayan*—'So it was heard by me at a time.'

between each preceding convocation; and that they were all preserved in the *memory* of succeeding generations.<sup>1</sup>

It is moreover stated that the entire body of doctrines was afterwards brought into Ceylon by *Mahindu*, and orally promulgated by him upon his mission to Ceylon to disseminate Buddhism in it;—and that the doctrines contained in our present voluminous records were orally perpetuated by the priesthood in Ceylon until the reign of King Valanganbâhu (104—76 B.C.), when '*for the first time* they were committed to writing.'<sup>2</sup> It would also seem that these writings were afterwards consulted [412 A.D.] by Buddhagôsa for his compilation of the *Atthakathâ*, which were not then extant in Asia.<sup>3</sup>

I have examined the original expressions in the Pali records<sup>4</sup> which authorize the above summary, and, I confess, there is scarcely anything in the import of them hostile to the belief that the Buddhist doctrines, like those of Mahomet, had a written existence in Asia at the same time that portions of them were committed to memory, which is not disputed.

*Memory* and *Writing* being means by which both words and actions are perpetuated, and there being a great analogy between the mental and physical process by which this is effected,—it is not strange that nearly all acts in reference to them are found so expressed in metaphorical language as to render a double interpretation possible. Yet there are indeed certain expressions which may be more reasonably traced to a *written* than a memorial preservation of the word. Apart from the evidence deducible from the phraseology<sup>5</sup> of the scriptures themselves, we obtain most ample testimony from the inadvertent admissions of Buddhist writers,—that the doctrines of Gôtama were reduced to writing from the commencement of the Buddhist era, if not in the very lifetime of the sage.

<sup>1</sup> See *Buddhistical Annals* by Turnour in *Journal B.R.A.S.*, for July 1837.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahavansa*, p. 207. <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> The *Sumangala Vilâsini* and the *Mahavansa*.

<sup>5</sup> Most of the words are the same in the Sanskrit; and I find Prof. Goldstücker has correctly defined them in his *Panini—his place in Sanskrit Literature*—pp. 13—66, a work which I have only seen after the preparation of this Lecture.

Against this position, which may be supported by various circumstances and considerations, it has been asserted that the Buddhist scriptures mentioned "cannon" and "fire arms;" and spoke, though in the language of prophecy, of *Ionians* and *Asoka*; and, therefore, they were written *after* the invention of gunpowder, and *posterior* to the Greek domination in Asia. As for the 'invention of gunpowder,' its date is not ascertained; yet, granting that it was not known before the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, it may be affirmed that "fire-arms" are not mentioned in any of the canonical works of Buddhism. We read of cavalry and infantry; of horses, elephants, and chariots; of bows, arrows, spears, javelins, targets, and swords; but not a single word about "guns" or "gunpowder"; and I may remark that the very name for gunpowder does not exist in the Pali language. The work, however, which contains the expression referred to, is the *Malalangedara Vattu*,<sup>1</sup> another version of the *Lalita Vistara*,<sup>2</sup> which, I need scarcely observe, is a recent work, and, as its very name implies, 'a glowing exaggeration.'

As to the inference sought to be deduced, viz. that the *Yavanas*—who were "a head-shaving race"<sup>3</sup>—were *Ionians* or Bactrian Greeks, who could only have been known in Asia after the conquests of Alexander the Great,<sup>4</sup> it is indeed unfounded. Few subjects connected with the history and chronology of the East are capable of more satisfactory proof than that the *Yavanas* or *Yonas* had been known before Gôtama Buddha.

The identification of Yavana with Mahommedans, is indeed open, in the opinion of Professor Wilson, to the objection, that the former are mentioned in works prior to the Mahomedan era.<sup>5</sup> In one of Asoka's inscriptions, the Girnar, *Antiochus* is called the *Yona Raja*, "the King of the Yonas." The *Milindapprasna* speaks of *Milinda* as a *Yona* King.

<sup>1</sup> See American Oriental Journal, vol. iii. p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Bengal As. Journal, 1854, p. 614.

<sup>3</sup> "Sagara made the Yavanas shave their heads"—Vishnu Purāna, iv. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Benfey's article on India.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's Hindu Theatre, vol. ii. p. 179.

Whether he be identical with *Menander*, and the Yōnaka country with *Euthydemia*,<sup>1</sup> remains to be proved. From the *Milindapprasna*, however, we learn that Milinda was born at *Kalasi* in *Alusaddo*, 200 yojanas from Sagal; and that Sagal was only 12 yojanas from Cashmir.

Isiodorus also mentions Sagal and Alexandria in the same sentence; and from the *Mahawansa*, moreover, we learn that *Alasadda* or *Alasanda* was the capital of the Yōna country. The mention of *dīpa* or "island" in reference to *Alasanda*, in one of the passages above referred to,<sup>2</sup> presents, however, no valid objections against its identification with *Alexandria*; for Pali writers and Buddhists in general, like the ancient Greeks, had a very vague notion of the geographical position of countries.

Perhaps, the *Milindapprasna* as well as the inscriptions do not furnish conclusive proofs on the subject; since they were composed clearly after the date of *Asoka*, who is expressly mentioned there<sup>3</sup>—nor indeed are the *Natakas* of much value for the same reason;—but the same objection does not apply to *Manu*, or the *Maha Bharata*, in both which ancient works the *Yavanas* are expressly mentioned.

Now, according to the Pali Annals, the latter work existed before the Buddhist era. This has been however doubted; but I believe there is not the same misapprehension as regards the Buddhist era itself. Whether the Buddhist annals came into existence after or before the death of the sage, signifies nothing; for if it can be shown that Buddha, whose age is pretty clearly established,<sup>4</sup> had spoken of the *Yavanas*, their identification with the Bactrian Greeks must indeed fall to the ground. Mr. Turnour intimated this in his elaborate introduction to the *Mahawansa*, but failed to adduce any proof; and this omission has led Orientalists to doubt the statement of that eminent Pali scholar, viz. 'Yonas were mentioned long anterior to Alexander's in-

<sup>1</sup> Vide Wilson's *Ariana*, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> See, *The Friend*.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Milindapprasna*.

<sup>4</sup> Turnour's *Mahawansa*, p. li.

vasions in the ancient Pali works. It becomes, therefore, a pleasing duty—and it is no less my privilege—to cite the authority referred to by Mr. Turnour. It is the following from the *Majjhima Nikāya*, where 'Gôtama is stated to have asked with special reference to the distinction of *Aryas* and *Dāsya*s which had gained ground in the “foreign countries,” such as *Yôna* and *Kāmboja* :—

‘Assalāyana, what thinkest thou of this? Hast thou (not) heard that in *Yona* and *Kamboja* and in other foreign countries, there are various *Ayyas* (superiors) and *dāsas* (inferiors); that superiors become inferiors, and inferiors, superiors?’

Whilst the authority above quoted satisfactorily explains the reason why, as in the *Hero* and the *Nymph*, Kalidāsa has applied the term *Yavana* to ‘menial females,’ it also proves that the *Yavanas* were anti-Buddhistical.

Since, however, it is expressly stated that the Buddhist doctrines, as well as the Vedas, were *memorially* preserved, the existence of *writing* itself at the date of the Buddhist era has been doubted by some.<sup>1</sup>

Great as was, and is the value set upon memory, and great as was the extent to which that faculty was anciently taxed by Oriental nations, yet we should not infer that writing was not known in Buddhistical Asia, as the Greeks concluded from the fact of the Hindus having administered justice from memory.<sup>2</sup> Nor should we be led away with the belief that it was possible for man to retain in memory the *Pittakattaya* with its voluminous *Commentaries*. The question is not whether it is possible, in the *abstract*, to commit a thing to, and retain it in, memory; but whether it is possible to do so to the *extent* which the *Pittakattaya*, etc., would indicate. A porter may carry a heavy load, but it is *not possible* to bear the weight of *Adam’s Peak*. We may hear a rat squeaking at the distance of a few yards; but

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<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Max Muller’s *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xv. 53.

it is impossible to do so at the distance of as many hundred miles. So likewise with our other faculties, for instance the memory. The matter in St. Paul's Greek Epistles which Beza committed to memory, or that of the sermons which the Guarnies could repeat with fidelity, bears indeed a very small proportion to the *Tepitaka*. If the Druids, who carried in their memories a large number of verses, the whole extent of their twenty years' learning, cannot by any means approach the contents of the English Bible, which is less than *one-eleventh* of the Buddhist Scriptures. If the poems of Homer, which extend to but 30,000 lines, were recited from memory, we ought to bear in mind that they are  $[2,000,000, \div 30,000 = ]$  less than a sixty-sixth of the Buddhist works, the greater portion of which, being in *prose*, could not, moreover, tender that aid which the rhythm of poetry had afforded to the rhapsodists.

Now, reliable history furnishes us with no account of such wondrous feats of memory as are stated in Hindu and Buddhist writings. There are none such recorded in our Holy Scriptures. From all that appears in the Bible, the mode by which,

‘—we, by tracing magic lines, are taught  
How to embody, and to colour thought—’

was known before the Israelites left Egypt [1491 B.C.]; or, in other words, *writing* was used at a time when its existence among the Hindus does not clearly appear. Neither does it appear from the Holy Scriptures that memory was made the Tablet of any of its doctrines, ‘*write this*,’ ‘*said the Lord unto Moses*,’—and why?—‘*for a memorial*,’ that it might not be forgotten;—and where? *in a book*.—Exod. xvii. 14. The Ten Commandments were not only *proclaimed* by the voice of God, but were engraved (*written*) by Him on Tablets of stone. The author of the book of Exodus “took the book of the covenant and *read* it in the audience of the people.” He furthermore *recorded* all that was revealed to him by God in *books*. Man's memory was not thus regarded as unerring or sufficiently stable to



dispense with a *written record*. The old Pali proverb *Su-chi-pu-l mutto katan pandito bhaveyya*, is indeed well known.

Buddhistical Annals, moreover, prove beyond all manner of doubt that in the lifetime of Gotama, not only was *writing* practised (1); not only that Buddhist doctrines were conveyed by means of it to different countries (2) (3) (4); not only that laws and usages were *recorded* (5); and that little children were taught to *write* (6); but that even women were found able to do so (7). The various passages which authorize the above statement also prove that the character used at the period above indicated was the *Nagari*.<sup>1</sup>

A question still remains for investigation, and which it may be convenient to dispose of here—what *materials* were employed for the purpose of writing at the period of the Buddhist era? All Orientalists know that palm leaves were used in connection with writing. We are also accustomed in this country to examine ancient *littres* engraved upon metal. Numbers of these were also found in excavations in different parts of Asia. The Royal present from Bimbisara to Pukkusati was written upon a gold plate of 6 feet by 1½ (see Extract No. 2). This costly material, however, was selected to enhance the value of the gift, and to give weight to the opinion concerning the virtues of Buddha, whom he introduced to the notice of his friend. This, therefore, may be regarded as the exception and not as the rule. For gold could not have been easily procured by poor scholars, and still poorer mendicant priests. Copper and other metals, though less costly than gold, were yet selected only with a view to perpetuate state documents, e.g. King Parakkrama bahu [A.D. 1200] made it a rule that 'when permanent grants of lands were made to those who had performed meritorious services, such behests should not be evanescent, like lines drawn upon water, by being

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(1.) Mahâ Vagga. (2.) Papancha Sudaniya. (3.) Mahâ Vagga. (4.) Maha Kappinna Vatt. (5.) Sumangala Vilâsini. (6.) Mahâ Vagga. (7.) Dampîâ Atuva.

<sup>1</sup> See the description of this character in reference No. 2.

inscribed upon *leaves*—a material which is subject to be destroyed by rats and white ants—but that such patents should be engraved on plates of copper, so as to endure long unto their respective generations.’

Copper is, moreover, an unwieldy substance. It could not be written upon with the same facility that we now experience in tracing a pen on paper. Except by engraving, no lasting impression could be made upon it ; and engraving was by no means practicable. It could not keep pace with the current of thought. Ordinary writing could not be effected by its means. If the Indians had a Pope who corrected a single line 70 times, the engraver would doubtless have had to perform a work of no ordinary labour ! Inferior metal was not, therefore, the substance upon which the Poet and the Scholar drafted compositions. In Ceylon, every Pansala which is identical with the Indian *lipi sālā*, has a sand-board ; and this is used by poets for composition, and by children for exercises in writing. An author, while composing, usually wrote *first* on these tables, for the convenience of making alterations, but when he had perfected his composition, the same was, it may be presumed, transferred to a more durable substance than the *Velipila*.

For the preservation of one’s writing a more permanent material was required than the sand, or tablets of wax. Strips of wood and bambu were used, and the use of the latter probably led to the invention of *paper* in China from reeds. Yet paper, whether known at this time or not, was not used by Orientals, except by the inventors themselves. In the Hindu mind there was, as it is still seen, a feeling of aversion to paper. Books written on paper were probably in ancient times, as they are now, not generally used in Asia. Nor have we any reason to believe that paper was known in India at the Buddhist era. But skins were. It should again be borne in mind that originally the Hindus were no slayers of animals, and though the hides of the antelope, etc., came into use gradually, and though animal sacrifices, doubtless, produced a good deal of skins, yet there is no mention of hides as a *writing material* ; and Buddhism, too, sets its face

against all animal slaughter and the use of 'Sheep-skin, Deer-skin, and Goat-skin,' which were originally forbidden as coverlets, were only permitted in foreign countries, where the prohibition might be an impediment to the free dissemination of Buddhism. It may thence be concluded that some other material was employed for ordinary writing. Cloth, doubtless, formed one of the common substances for writing upon, as we find it even at the present day in the Burman Empire; and M. Burnouf gives a story from the *Divyū Avadana*, of the Nepal works, to the effect that Bimbisāra sent to Rūdrayāna, King of Rōruka, a portrait of Gôtama on cloth, with the Buddhist formula of refuge written below it.

Though, perhaps, this is one of the Fables which were invented by the Heretics, who had seceded from the Buddhist church, yet the fact that cloth was used in early times as a writing material may be relied upon. And it would seem from the travels of the early Chinese pilgrims, and the mode in which Buddhist doctrines were circulated, that some other material besides cloth was used for the ordinary purposes of writing, and this we are expressly told, in reference to the correspondence of Bimbisāra and Pukkusāti, was on *panna* or 'leaf'; and the discoveries in the topes of *Nandāra* and *Hidda* show that the *Tuz* leaf was used for Inscriptions in the Bactro-Pali character. It was, however, not this that was anciently used for writing purposes. Neither was it 'the lotus leaf as smooth as a parrot's breast,' which Kālidāsa in his *Sakuntalā* puts in the hands of the chief heroine of the play to write her love-letter on. Nor, indeed, was it the birch-leaf which the same poet in his *Vikramorvasi* places in the hands of *Urvāsi* as a suitable material on which to inscribe her epistle. The latter, says Prof. Max Müller, is used in the sense of a "leaf or sheet of paper." And this indicates clearly that Kālidāsa wrote long after the Buddhist era, and long after the Egyptian papyrus had been known to the Asiatics.

That the leaf, however, which was anciently used by Asiatics for ordinary writing was the *Talipot*, or the "ola," appears from the very language of Gôtama Buddha; and the

instrument for writing was the *Panna-Suchh̃ya*, 'leaf-pin,' or *Stylus*. From a Tamil work which Mr. William Ferguson quotes, in his interesting work on the Palmirah Palm, it appears that the 'oldest Hindu author, *Panini*, mentions writing on *olas*.' I may also mention what Pliny states, that the most ancient mode of writing was upon the leaf of the Palm tree: and the *ola* is expressly mentioned as an ordinary writing material in the Buddhist annals.

From an investigation into the question whether the Buddhist doctrines had a written existence from the very commencement of the Buddhist era, I return to the question of the dialect in which they were originally expressed.

Upon the authority of the Tibetan annals, Mons. de Körös names several languages into which the Buddhist Scriptures were early translated, but distinguishes one as Tathagata's "own language." The earliest Pali Grammar of Kachchayana, which is indeed extant in Ceylon as well as in Burmah, also refers us to the "language of Buddha," for the elucidation of which he had compiled the *Sandhikappa*.

The question arises—what was this language? That it was not the Sanskrit is generally believed. That it was not the language of which the Chinese pilgrims speak as the *Fan* is also clear; for, apart from other evidence such as the existence of a dual number in the so-called *Fan* language, the same word *Fan* is used to designate *Brahmā*, clearly showing that by it was meant the Sanskrit, or the sacred language of the *Brahmans*. The only other languages that demand attention are, "the language (as it is called) of the northern Buddhists," and the Pali language of the Singhalese.

As to the first, we gather from the writings of a learned Hindu gentleman, and of Mons. Burnouf, 'that the Buddhist literature of Nepal, from which the Sacred Scriptures of Tibet, Tartary, and China have been compiled, is in an ugly Sanskrit dialect, destitute of the niceties of the Sanskrit grammatical forms of declension and conjugation, etc.; that the authors have sacrificed grammar to the exigencies of metre; that it is in a mixed style of prose and *Gāthās*; that it bears a strong resemblance to the Tantras of the 4th to the 7th

century of the Christian era ;—and that it appears to be the production of men to whom the task of compilation was assigned without sufficient materials at their disposal.' In view of these peculiarities, Mons. Burnouf has pronounced the Nepal sacred scriptures to be a 'barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrita, appear to be confounded.' Referring to the difference of language of the different parts of the *Vaipulya*, 'the highly developed Sūtras,' the same distinguished Orientalist remarks, that it 'indicates in the clearest manner that there was 'another digest,' besides the compilations of the three great œcumenical convocations of the Buddhists, and that in his opinion, the Nepal Scriptures comprise a *fourth digest*, which he 'regards as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in a learned language they ill understood, with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect.'

This question, as indeed many others of historical character, is solved by the Pāli annals of Ceylon ; and here I shall present you a translation from the *Dipāvansa* ; the value of the information which it imparts cannot be too much overrated.

'Many individuals, viz. ten thousand Vajjians,<sup>1</sup> sinful *bhikkhus*, who had been expelled by the *Theras*, assembled together ; and, having formed another association, held a Council of the *Dhamma*. This is thence called the *Maha Sangiti*.

'The *bhikkus* who held the *Mahā Sangiti* reduced the religion into confusion ;<sup>2</sup> set aside<sup>3</sup> the first compilation ;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wajji*, a portion of Behar in which the Lichchavi princes settled. It is not, however, stated where this Council was held. Doubtless it was at a distance from the principal seat of Government and Buddhism, which at this period was at *Wesali* or modern Allahabad.

<sup>2</sup> *Viloman akansu*, 'made to bristle,' 'ruffled,' 'crossed,' 'confused.'

<sup>3</sup> *Bhūḍitva* 'having broken,' 'split.'

<sup>4</sup> *Sangahan*. From the context, I would render this word 'compilation' and not 'rehearsal.' The acts here related, taken in connection with the original import of the word, can only refer to a *written* and not a *mental* 'collection.'

and made<sup>1</sup> another. They transferred the Suttans from their proper places to others, and perverted the sense and distorted the words<sup>2</sup> of the five *nikayas*. They did so, ignorant of (the difference between) the general discourses, and those (delivered) on particular occasions, and also (between) their natural and implied significations. They expressed<sup>3</sup> in a different sense that which was otherwise declared; and set aside various significations under the unwarranted authority (shadow) of words.<sup>4</sup> They omitted one portion of the *Suttans* and the *Vinaya* of deep import, and substituted<sup>5</sup> (their own) version<sup>6</sup> of them, and the text.<sup>7</sup> They left out the *Parivāraṇa* annotations,<sup>8</sup> six books<sup>9</sup> of the *Abhidhamma*, the *Paṭisambhida*, the *Niddesa* and a portion of the *Jātakas*,<sup>10</sup> without replacing anything in their stead. They moreover disregarded<sup>11</sup> the nature of nouns, their gender, and (other) accidents<sup>12</sup> as well as the (various) requirements of style;<sup>13</sup> and corrupted them in various ways.'

The above passage clearly indicates that there was a code

<sup>1</sup> *Akarinsu*, 'made' 'done,' 'effected.' The same word is used in the following sentence wherein I have rendered it 'placed.'

<sup>2</sup> *Dhamma* here means "phraseology" of the Scriptures as opposed to their *Attha* "the sense."

<sup>3</sup> *Thapayinsu*—'they made to stand.'

<sup>4</sup> *Vyanjana*, 'letters,' and in some of the Buddhist writings, 'words' or sentences.

<sup>5</sup> *Patirūpa*, placed 'a figure' or 'counterpart.'

<sup>6</sup> From a comparison of the Ceylon and Nepal versions of the sacred writings. I find the latter has three sections, the *Vyapulya*, the *Nidan* and *Upadesa*, all which are additions to the original discourses. Compare the following list taken from *Hodgson's Illustrations* with the list from *Buddhagosa's Atthakatha* [B. R. A. S. J.]. Hodgson says, "The Buddha Scriptures are twelve kinds, known by the following twelve names:—1, Sutra; 2, Geya; 3, Vākārāṇa; 4, Gāthā; 5, Udan; 6, Nidan; 7, Ityukta; 8, Jātaka; 9, Vāipulya; 10, Adbhuta Dharma; 11, Avadan; and 12, Upadesa."

<sup>7</sup> *Tantū*, 'The Text.'

<sup>8</sup> *Atthuddharan*, "explanatory discourses."

<sup>9</sup> *Pakarana*, 'Compilation,' 'something made methodically,' 'an original composition.'

<sup>10</sup> The *Jātakas*, in the Indian versions, are, it is said, less than 550.

<sup>11</sup> The peculiarities here noticed when compared with those of the *Gāthā dialect* of the Nepal scriptures—(See Essay thereon by *Babu Rajendralal Mitra* in the *Bl. A.S.J.* for 1854, p. 604 et seq.). There can be no doubt of the identity between *this fourth code* of the Buddhists and the Nepal version. The differences of style therein illustrated by Mr. Mitra exactly correspond with the defects of composition here described.

<sup>12</sup> *parikkaran*, 'attributes,' 'decoration,' 'accidents.'

<sup>13</sup> *Akappakarani*, also 'decoration,' 'embellishment,' 'niceties' of style or composition.

different from the Orthodox version of the sacred writings, which were authenticated at three different convocations, and that the Nepal version is a modification of that code. It also establishes that the compilation in question was made, not in the *Tantra* period above referred to—not in the age of *Kanishka*—but in the early part of the 2nd century of the Buddhist era.

I shall now pass on to the *Maghadi* language—the remaining subject of this evening's discourse.

The Sanskrit had, it is believed, died out along with Brahmanism about six centuries B.C.<sup>1</sup> At all events, at the time when Buddhism arose, Sanskrit was no longer the vernacular speech of the people. Several dialects (and the Buddhist books speak of eighteen) had been in current use in India. The Pali was, doubtless, one of them, if not the principal Prākṛit language.<sup>2</sup> It was properly the language of *Magadha*. Numerous Pali theological terms, which have peculiar significations clearly distinguishable from those assigned to the same cognate expressions by the Sanskrit Brahmans, taken with numerous other circumstances in the history of Buddhism, prove beyond all doubt that the Pāli was essentially the language of Gôtama, and of Buddhism. We find it retained till the time of *Asoka*, more than two centuries afterwards. The difference between the dialect of the inscriptions and that of the Pali texts, as, for instance, the *Dhammapada*, establishes nothing beyond the fact that the former as a spoken language had undergone changes, whilst the latter, as is evidenced from the *Yedhamma hetuppabava* stanza quoted in the inscriptions, became fixed in Ceylon as the sacred language of the scriptures.<sup>3</sup> The use of the Prākṛit for the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Benfey on India, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> If "the Maharashtri," as stated by Rāma Tarkavagisa, "is the root of other Prakrits"—viz. those which have not been banished from Asia—the Pali presents the most unequivocal proof of its being the parent of all Prakrits, including the Mahārashtri.

<sup>3</sup> Ye dhammā hētuppabhavā  
Tēsan hētun Tathāgato  
Aha tēsanca yō nirōdhō  
Evan vādi mahā Samanō.

• Whatever *dhammā* have proceeded from certain causes Tathāgata declares

inscriptions in preference to the Sanskrit, proves most satisfactorily that it was 'the vernacular speech of the people in the same manner that the use of the *local* alphabets is evidence of a design to render the inscriptions accessible to the people.' 'We may therefore (says Prof. Wilson) recognize it as an actually existent form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves—by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar.'

The terms *Pali* and *Magadhi* are names which are at the present day indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists, and being confined to those countries, the term *Pali* is not met with in any of the Indian writings.

*Mâgadhi* is the correct and original name for the Pali. It was not called the *Mâgadhi*, in consequence of the Mission of Asôka, the King of Magadha, to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon. It had received that name before the age of that monarch. It was so called after the ancient name of Behar. It was the appellation for the ancient vernacular language of Magadha. It was the designation for the dialect of the Magadhas.—*Magadhânam bhasâ Mâgadhi*.<sup>1</sup>

(the same, and) the causes of them; and whatever may be their distinction (the same likewise he declares). The *Mañña Samana* (is one of) such speech.'

This verse is found rendered in so many different ways (See Journal R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, xvi. p. 37 et seq., that I have thought it proper to present the following passage from the *Atthakathâ* or the Commentary on the Vinaya text—

Yê dhammâ bêtuppabbhavâ—iti; 'hetuppabbhavâ' nâma panchakkhandhâ,—tênassa dukkha sachchan dassêti. *Tesan hetu Tathagato aha*—iti; 'tesan hetu' nâma samudaya sachchan—tancha Tathagato aha iti dassêti. *Tesancha yo nirôdho*—iti; tesan ubbinnampi appavatte nirôdhô, tancha Tathagato aha iti atthô; tênassa nirôdha sachchan dassêti. Magga Sachchan panettha sarûpatô adassitampi nayatô dassitan hôti; nirôdhôti uttê tassa sampâpakô maggô vutthôva hoti; atthavâ *tesancho yo nirôdho*—ti ettha 'tesan yo nirôdhô cha' nirôdhupâyôchâtî; évan dvêpi sachchani dassitani hontî. Idani tamê vatthan patipadento aha—Evan vadi maha Samano.

'*Ye dhamma hetuppabbhava*—i.e. by 'those that are born by some cause'—are meant the *panchakkhandâ*; whereby the verity of *dukkha* (sorrow) is proclaimed to him [Upatissa]. By *tesan hetu* 'their cause' is meant the verity of *Samudhaya* 'birth.' The same is also pointed out as declared by *Tathagata*. By *tesancho yo nirôdho* 'whatever may be their destruction,' is meant the transientness, the indurability of those two (sorrow and birth), which are also said to be declared by *Tathagata*.

<sup>1</sup> *Prakrit Prakasa*, p. 179.



Pali is comparatively a modern name for the *Magadhi*. It has not originated from 'the region called *Pallistan*, the (supposed) land of the Pali—Our *Palestine*.' 'It does not come from *Palitūr* in Tyre—the so-called Pali tower or Fort.' It has no historical connection with 'the Palatine hills of Rome.'<sup>1</sup> It was not called after the Pehlve, the dialect of the Sassanian dynasty. It is not derived from '*Palli*, a village,' as we should now-a-days distinguish *gunavari*, 'village,' 'boorish,' from *Urdu*, "the language of the Court."<sup>2</sup> Nor does it indeed mean "root," or "original."<sup>3</sup>

Like *āli*, the word *pālī* originally signified a 'line,' 'row,' 'range,'<sup>4</sup> and was gradually extended to mean 'Suttan,' from its being like a line,<sup>5</sup> and to signify edicts,<sup>6</sup> or the string of rules in Budha's discourses or doctrines, which are taken from the Suttans. From thence it became an appellation for the *text* of the Buddhist Scriptures, as in the following passages:—

Therayāchariyā sabbe Pālin viya tam aggahun. 'All the three preceptors held this compilation in the same estimation as the *text* (of the Pitakattaya).' Thera vādēhi pālehi padēhi vyanjanīhicha. 'In the *Thera discourses* as in the *text* (of

<sup>1</sup> See the Friend, vi. p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep, Bl. As. J. vol. vii. p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> Turnour's Mahāvansa, p. xxii, where he merely gives the opinion of the Buddhists; and this is no more correct than the Brahmanical opinion that Prakṛita means 'the derived.'—Vide post.

<sup>4</sup> See Abhidhanappadīpika, p. 71. It is not a little curious that Mahommedans, between whom and the Buddhists there was no intercourse at the period when their sacred books were written, call the larger portions of the Koran "Sowar" ('Sūra,' sing.), signifying precisely, as the word *Pālī* does, 'a row, order, or regular series.' The Arabic Sūra, whether immediately derived from the Sanskrit 'Sṛēni' or not, is the same in use and import as the *Sura* or *Tora* of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three Sections of the Pentateuch, *Sūdarim*, a word of the same signification.

<sup>5</sup> Itaran pana;  
Atthānan sūchanatō  
Suvuttatō savana tōha sūdanatō  
Suttānatō sutta sabhā gatocha suttan  
suttanti akkhatan.

'The other (which is) the *Suttan*, is called '*Suttan*' from its illustrating the properties (of duties); from its exquisite tenor; from its being productive (of much sense) and from its overflowing (tendency) the protection (which it affords); and from its being like a string.'—*Buddhaghosa's Atthakatha*.

<sup>6</sup> Hevancha hevan cha me pāliyo vadetha: 'Thus, thus shall ye cause to be read my *pūliyo* or edicts.'—*Prinsep's Asoka Inscript.*

the Pitakattaya); and in an expression as in a letter.' From thence again *Pali* has become the name of the Māgadhi language in which Buddha delivered his doctrines.

The terms *Pali* and *Magadhi* are names which are at the present day indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists; and being confined to those countries, the term *Pali* is not met with in any of the Indian writings.

The Pali has also received the designation of *Tanti*, 'the string of a lute,' its Sanskrit cognate being *tantri*. From that signification it seems to have been originally applied by the Brahmans to *tantra*, 'a religious treatise teaching peculiar and mystical formulæ and rites for the worship of their deities or the attainment of superhuman power,' or, 'that which is comprised of five subjects, the creation and destruction of the world, the worship of the gods, the attainment of all objects, magical rites for the acquirement of six superhuman faculties and four modes of union with the spirit by meditation.' The Māgadhas, before their secession from the Brahman Church, probably used the Māgadhi term *tanti* in this sense; but when they embraced the Buddhist faith, they used it to signify the *doctrines* of Gôtama as in the following passages:—(1) Sammā Sambuddhò pi te pitakan Buddha vachanan Tantin aròpentò Māgadhi bàsàyá íva aròpesi—'Buddha who rendered his *tepitaka* words into Tanti (or tantra or doctrines) did so by means of the Magadhí language'—*Vibhanga Atuva*. (2) Tivagga sangahan chatuttinsa suddanta patimanditan chatu satti bhānavāra parimānan tantin sangāyetva ayan dīgha nikāyò ò nāmā 'ti—'Having rehearsed the *Tanti* (the doctrines) which contain 64 *banavara* embracing 34 *Suttants* composed of 3 classes, (this was) named Dighanikāya'—*Bhodicavansa*. From its application to the Buddhist doctrines, *Tanti* has become a name for the sacred language itself of the Buddhists—viz. the *Magadhi* or *Pali*. Thus in Buddhagosa's Atthakatha, 'why was the first convocation held? In order that the *Nidan* of the *Vinaya pitaka*, the merits of which are conveyed in the *Tanti* (Pali) language,

might be illustrated.' Thus, also, in the *Balavatara* in a part of the passage which answers to the § 58 in the Rev. B. Clough's version, where it is left untranslated.

Evam aññá pi viññeyyà  
 Sanhità tanti yà hità  
 Sanhità chita vannaṇan  
 Sannidha'byava dhānatò.

That is to say, 'In this wise know the rest of the combinations which are susceptible in the *Tanti* (language). *Sanhita* is the combination of letters without a hiatus.'

The popular tradition amongst the native Pandits of Ceylon is that Pali is a sister dialect of the Sanskrit, having been probably derived from one and the same stem.

In considering this subject we notice that the *Brahmans* regard the *Sanskrit* to be of divine origin, and as a direct revelation from their creator. I am indeed aware that the Brahman notion of the so-called *Prākritis* (the *Māgadhi* included) being derived from the Sanskrit, has the countenance and support of such eminent men as MM. Burnouf and Lassen : but it is submitted with great deference that this position can no more be satisfactorily proved, than that *Prakrit* means "derived," or that *pakriti*, 'the mother,' is the *daughter*. Be this, however, as it may, the pretensions of the Buddhists are as great as those of the *Brahmans*. The former claim for the Pali an antiquity so remote that they affirm it to be 'a language the root of all dialects, which was spoken by men and Brahmas at the commencement of the creation, by those who never before heard nor uttered human accents ; and also by all Buddhas.'

For the above we have not only the authority of the *Payōgasiddhi*, but the following from the *Vibhanga Atuvā* :

'Tissadatta t̥era took up the gold broomstick in the Bō compound, and requested to know in which of the eighteen *bhāsas* he should speak ? He so (spake) from (a knowledge of those languages) not acquired through inspiration, but by actual study ; for being a very wise personage he knew those several dialects by learning—wherefore, being one of (such)

acquirements he so inquired. This is said here (to illustrate) that men acquire a *bhasa* (by study).

‘Parents place their children when young either on a cot or a chair, and speak different things and perform different actions. Their words are thus distinctly fixed by the children (on their minds) (thinking) that such was said by him, and such by the other; and in process of time they learn the entire language. If a child born of a *Damila* mother and an *Andhaka* father should first hear his mother speak, he would speak the *Damila* language; but if he should hear his father first, he would speak the *Andhaka*. If, however, he should not hear them both, he would speak the *Magadhî*. If, again, a person in an uninhabited forest, in which no speech (is heard), should intuitively attempt to articulate words, he would speak the very *Māgadhi*. It predominates in all regions (such as) Hell; the Animal kingdom; the *Petta* sphere; the human World; and the World of the *deras*. The remaining eighteen languages, *Otta*, *Kirāthā*, *Andhaka*, *Yonaka*, *Damila*, etc., undergo changes—but not the *Magadhî*, which alone is stationary, as it is said to be the speech of Brahmas and *Ariyas*. Every Buddha, who rendered his *tepitaka* words into doctrines, did so by means of the very *Magadhî*; and why? Because by doing so it (was) easy to acquire their (true) significations. Moreover, the sense of the words of Buddha which are rendered into doctrines by means of the *Magadhî* language, is conceived in hundreds and thousands of ways by those who have attained the *pati sambidha*, so soon as they reach the ear, or the instant the ear comes in contact with them; but discourses rendered into other languages are acquired with much difficulty.’

Now, it is a fact that ‘all rude nations are distinguished by a boastful and turgid vanity.’ They cannot speak of their race or of their sacred languages without assigning to them an origin the remotest in the world. In ‘a spirit of adulation and hyperbole’ they exalt them as high as the object of their adoration and worship. This is peculiarly the case with Eastern nations.

Although such extravagantly high pretensions are by

themselves of no value, yet, when some of these traditions are partially supported by the concurrence of other testimony, such as the high antiquity of the Pali—its refinement—its comparative simplicity both verbally and grammatically—and its relationship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, from which their present dialect has been *Sanskritized*:—we may, by a judicious exercise of our judgment in separating fact from fable, and reality from fiction, receive them, I apprehend, to the extent to which they are confirmed. Thus the traditions of both the Brahmans and the Buddhists in respect of their respective languages may be received, so far as they are proved to be two dialects of high antiquity derived from a source of which scarcely any traces are to be found at the present day.

The Pali according to tradition was brought into Ceylon by our first Monarch Wijaya, shortly after the time of Gôtama; and although Professor Lassen regards this as a question involved in obscurity, yet the name of the “Conqueror” and the designation of many a town, edifice, and mountain—nay, the very name “Tambupanna”<sup>1</sup> given to the Island by Wijaya, and which we find was shortly afterwards used by the Indian Monarch *Asoka* in the rock Inscriptions, would lead to the inference that the Pali was the language of the first colonists.

There is another circumstance which may be here noticed. The birth-place of the first settlers of Ceylon was *Lala*. It is identical with *Lata* or *Lada*; and *Dandi*, the author of *Kavyadarsa*, says that even in comparatively a modern age, that of the dramas, the language of *Lata* as well as of *Banga* (which latter is only a different pronunciation of *Vanga*, and merely another name for *Gowda*) was usually the *Prakrit*. His authority goes farther, for he places the language of *Lala* in the same class as that of *Gowda*, *Surasena*, etc., and his commentator explains the ‘*et cetera*’ to mean the *Magadhi* (Pali) and *Panchala* (the Zend). Hence all circumstances considered, it is very clear that the *Pali* was the language

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<sup>1</sup> See my remarks hereon in the Journal C.B. R.A.S.

of the band from Lala who colonized Ceylon, or rather a modification of it which bore the nearest relation to such languages as the Sûraseni and the *Zend*—at all events, a so-called *Prakrita* dialect; and therefore a language of the *Ariyan* and not of the South-Indian class.

But the best evidence of the fact is that furnished by a comparison of the Singhalese with Pali and other Indian dialects.<sup>1</sup>

I have already,<sup>2</sup> though somewhat doubtfully, intimated my belief that the Singhalese belonged to the northern family of languages. My later researches only tend to confirm that belief, and they enable me moreover to affirm that “the most unequivocal testimony” to which Prof. Spiegel and Sir Emerson Tennent refer, tends to but one conclusion, viz. that ‘that the Singhalese as it is spoken at the present day, and still more strikingly as it exists as a written language in the literature of this Island, *presents no affinity* to the Dekhanese group of languages.’ It is, however impossible to do justice to the subject within the circumscribed limits of a Lecture of one hour’s duration, and I must therefore return to the subject.

It would appear from both the Singhalese and Tibetan annals that even in the lifetime of Buddha, there were many dialects prevalent in India. As already observed, eighteen dialects are spoken of in the *Vibhanga Atuva*; and preference is of course given to the *Māgadhi*. The orthodox version of the Buddhist Scriptures, written in the last-mentioned dialect, was doubtless brought by Mahindu [in 307 B.C.] to Ceylon, where it has since remained unchanged, as its phraseology abundantly testifies.

Although a dead language, the Pali has been carefully cultivated in Ceylon. From the period it became the sacred language of the Singhalese, Kings and Princes have encouraged its study; nobles and statesmen have vied with each other to excel in its composition; and laymen and priests have produced some of the most elegant works in it. The

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<sup>1</sup> A paper on the subject will be shortly published as an Appendix to this Lecture.

<sup>2</sup> See my Introduction to the *Sidathsangara*.

names of Batuwantudâve, Hikkaduwe, Lankâgoda, Dodanpahala, Valâne, Bentota, Kahâve, and Sumangala, amongst a host of others, are indeed familiar to Pali scholars, as those of the learned who are *even now* able to produce compositions by no means inferior to those of a Buddhagôsa or a Parakrama, though, like the modern Sanskrit, certainly more artificial than the more ancient writings. Not only in Ceylon, but in the Burman Empire are there scholars who excel in Pali. Of the writings, especially, of the present King of Siam, I cannot speak but in the highest terms of admiration. There, as in Ceylon, the Pali is most assiduously cultivated amongst the priesthood. But, as is not the case in Ceylon, whole libraries are there replaced annually by new ones, after they have undergone the careful inspection of learned men.

Mr. Hardy states that the high state of cultivation to which the Pali language was carried, and the great attention that has been paid to it in Ceylon, may be inferred from the fact that a list of works in the possession of the Singhalese, which he found during his residence in this Island, included thirty-five works on Pali Grammar, some of them being of considerable extent.<sup>1</sup> And what is still more remarkable, the Singhalese, which had been formed out of the Pali, was eagerly, though ineffectually, sought to be "*set aside*" for the language of Gôtama. It is expressly stated by the author of the Mahavansa (459-477 A.D.) that in that work, the object aimed at, is the *setting aside* of the Singhalese language, in which the former history was composed.<sup>2</sup> Again the design of the Pali version of the Singhalese *Daladâvansa* (1196-1200 A.D.) is said to be the same.<sup>3</sup>

In the proportion, however, in which Pali has been cultivated and enriched in Ceylon, has it declined in Asia<sup>4</sup> and with it the religion which was taught through its medium.

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<sup>1</sup> Eastern Monachism, pp. 191, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to the Mahawansa.

<sup>3</sup> See Beng. A.S. Journal.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Mâgadhi differs essentially from the Pali. In those respects in which it differs from the Pali it approaches the Prakrit, or the sacred language of the Jains.

The shock which Buddhism received in those countries in which it most flourished (when such works as the *Kulpa Sutra* and *Lalita Vistāra* began to make their appearance) must have been great indeed to render necessary as we have already seen the special mission of a Buddhagosa to Ceylon. His translations were so much admired that in very early times they found their way from Ceylon to Burmah, the only country, we believe, where they are still preserved in the integrity of our originals. Not only these but our historical works, it seems, had in early times been applied for, and obtained by the Burmese; and we find from a valuable collection of Pāli books brought down in 1812, by the learned Nadoris de Silva, Modliar, from that country, that they had preserved even the commentary on the Mahawansa with comparatively greater accuracy than ourselves. Fortunate indeed it was for Ceylon that the Burman Empire had borrowed Lanka's Pali books, for when the literature of this Island was nearly annihilated by the cruelties of some of our Malabar Monarchs (and we had indeed amongst them many an Edward III. who laid his ruthless hands on the literary and religious archives of the nation), the repositories of Siam and Amarapura failed not to supply our deficiencies, and to furnish us with the means for placing our Pali Literature at least upon a respectable footing.

The number of Pali books on Buddhism far exceeds the Lexical and Grammatical works; and it is remarkable that the Pali Literature of the Singhalese is not deficient in other branches of Oriental Sciences. It presents a proud array of extensive volumes on Prosody, Rhetoric, Medicine, History, etc. Of all these, however, the historical works possess an all-absorbing interest. For I may safely assert that no Country in the East can boast of so correct a history of its own affairs and those of Asia generally, as Ceylon. The Phœnicians, who, as you are aware, had influenced the civilization of a very large portion of the human race by their great inventions and discoveries, by their colonies established in every quarter of the globe, and above all by the extensive commerce which they had carried on—have



left nothing behind, except the alphabet which they had invented. The Persians, a very interesting and a very ancient race of people, and to whom we naturally look for historic information, have little beyond their *Zendavasta*, two chapters of which contain some traditions of their own. The Hindus, a people who had a literature of their own from a period long before the Singhalese became a nation, have no historical records, and their scanty 'fragmentary historical recollections,' which have been embodied with their religious works, such as the *Puranas*, present themselves in the language of a *prophecy*, and upon their basis no trustworthy chronological calculations can be made.<sup>1</sup> In the Vedas again, which are perhaps older than any Ceylonese Buddhist writings, and which are supposed to 'furnish the only sure foundation on which a knowledge of ancient and modern India can be built up'<sup>2</sup>—there is a lamentable lack of historic sense: which has ever been one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Indian mind.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese, who boast of a descent from times remoter than the days of Adam, have no historical writings which can throw the smallest particle of light upon the affairs of the East.

In the country of Magadha, so greatly renowned as the birth-place of Buddhism, and the still more interesting language (the Pali) in which it was promulgated—a kingdom, moreover, which dates its origin from the time of the Mahá Bhàrat,<sup>4</sup>—we have no records of a historical character, beyond religious inscriptions, sculptured on stones, and grants of lands engraved on copper plates. These 'unconnected fragments,' beyond serving to fix the dates of particular Kings, furnish us at present with neither History nor matter sufficient to help us to a general Chronology. The Bactrian coins, again, afford us the same kind of information with

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<sup>1</sup> See Prof. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 503.

<sup>2</sup> Essay on the results of the Vedic Researches, by W. D. Whitney, *American Oriental J.* vol. iii. p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Elphinstone's *History of India*.

which the monumental inscriptions furnish us, but little or nothing beyond that. 'The only Sanskrit composition yet discovered in all Asia to which the title of History can with any propriety be applied is the *Rājatarangini*,'<sup>1</sup> a comparatively modern work which was compiled A.D. 1148: and this again does not bear any comparison either in point of the matter it contains, or in the interest which attaches to the subjects it treats upon, with the *Singhalese Historical Records*.

The genuine historic zeal exhibited by the Singhalese from the very time they colonized Ceylon far surpasses that of all other Indian nations.<sup>2</sup>

The love<sup>3</sup> which the Singhalese had for such pursuits was participated by their rulers themselves; and, whilst tradition asserts that some of our early Singhalese Annals from which the Mahāwansa was compiled were the works of some of our monarchs—History records the facts, that 'the national annals were from time to time compiled by royal command;' and that the labours of 'the historians were rewarded by the State with grants of lands.' The interest which our sovereigns took in this part of the national literature was so great indeed, that many a traveller and geographer of the middle ages was peculiarly struck, as 'a trait of the native rulers of Ceylon,' with the fact of the employment by them of persons to compile the national annals. And though comparatively few are the records which the ravages of time and the devastating hand of sectarian opposition have left behind, they, nevertheless, excel in matter and interest all the annals of Asia. 'As the first actual writing and

<sup>1</sup> Prof. H. H. Wilson, Introduction to *Rājatar*.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen's *Indisch. Alt.* vol. ii. pp. 13, 15.

<sup>3</sup> This is inherent in the Singhalese, and it is not a little curious that just as we are writing on the subject, the *Colombo Observer* of 30th August, 1860, puts forth the same views in alluding to a recent examination of the boys of the *Cotta Christian Institution*, as follows, "Then came a very interesting examination of several boys in Roman History. The readiness with which the various questions were answered, and the apparent pleasure the boys took in this study, show that the spirit of their ancestors who composed the Mahāwansa is strong in Singhalese boys of this generation."

the *first well-authenticated* inscriptions in India, are of *Buddhist* origin,<sup>1</sup> so likewise the first actual chronicle as well as the most authentic history, in the whole of the Eastern hemisphere, may be traced to a CEYLON-BUDDHISTIC source.

Sir James Emerson Tennent<sup>2</sup> says, and says truly, that "the Mahawansa stands at the head of the historical literature of the East, unrivalled by anything extant in Hindostan, the wildness of whose chronology it controls."

When for instance the capacious mind of Sir William Jones seized with avidity the identity of *Chandragupta* and *Sandracottus*, and thence discovered the only key for unlocking the history and chronology of Asia, the annals of Ceylon were not without their use in removing the doubts which were conjured up in the imagination of antiquaries. When the indefatigable labours of a Prinsep enabled him to decipher the rock Inscriptions of *Piyadāsi* or *Devanampiya*, the discovery could not with certainty have been applied either to fix the proper date of the Buddhistic era, or to reduce the chronology of Asia to its proper limits without the aid of the Singhalese records—the *Dipāvansa*<sup>3</sup> in particular, which identified *Devanampiya* with *Asōka*. When the obscure dialect of the pillar Inscriptions presented philological difficulties, the Ceylon Pali Mahawansa alone served as an "infallible dictionary"<sup>4</sup> for their elucidation. When again the Cashmirean history put forth an extravagant Chronology, Ceylon chronicles alone enabled Mr. Turnour to effect an important and valuable correction to the extent of 794 years, and thereby to adjust the chronology of the East. When lastly the deep penetrating mind of a Burnouf, from an examination into the Nepal version of the Buddhist

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<sup>1</sup> Prof. Max Müller's Sanskrit Literature, p. 520.

<sup>2</sup> History of Ceylon, p. 516.

<sup>3</sup> "Mr. Turnour's Pali authorities will be of essential use in expounding our new discovery, and my only excuse for not having taken the epitome already published as my guide before is, that the identity of *Piadasa* was not then established."—Mr. James Prinsep in the Bengal A. S. J. vol. vi. p. 792, &c.

<sup>4</sup> "On turning to the *infallible Tika* upon our inscriptions afforded by Mr. Turnour's admirable Mahawansa, we find a circumstance recorded which may help us materially to understand the obscure passage."—Prinsep, Bengal A. S. J. vol. vii. p. 262.

Scriptures, conceived the idea of "a fourth digest" of the Buddhists, apart from the compilations of the three convocations, the Singhalese Annals, and above all the *Dīpāwansa* alone, furnished the proof required for establishing the conjecture.

Such were, and are, the claims of the Pali literature of this Island upon the attention of the learned in Europe. Yet it is a melancholy fact that for a very long period of time the greatest indifference was manifested in its study by the savans of Europe.

When more than forty years ago Rask wrote, the greatest misconception prevailed amongst Europeans on all Oriental subjects. Eastern languages were not extensively cultivated. A gloom enveloped the science of Comparative Philology. Inaccessible was the path to Eastern history. Even the *Sanskrit*, the language in the highest state of cultivation now-a-days, was then but imperfectly known to the European world. Some considered it a derivative of the *Zend*, and others treated it as a creature of the Pali. Little, if anything, was definitely investigated of the latter. The relation which Sanskrit bore to the Prakrit was imperfectly investigated, and was, at the time Wilson translated *Vikrama* and *Urvashi*, far from being understood; and when the researches of Lassen and Burnouf, 'with that love of novelty and that honorable ambition which greatly distinguished them,' brought to light the Nepal books of Buddhism, even the names of their Pali versions were unknown to Europeans. The distinction between the *Arya* and the *Dekhanese* groups of languages was not well ascertained. The Tamil was supposed to have been an offshoot of the Sanskrit. The *Andhra* merely existed as a book name. Between it and the *Dravida* no relationship was established, much less was the identity of *Dravida* and *Damila* recognized. The Singhalese was not known in Europe.

When, more than thirty years ago, Hodgson announced the discovery of the Nepal Scriptures in a dialect intermediate between the Pali and Sanskrit, and the indefatigable Burnouf commenced their examination, eight years

afterwards—an impression was formed hostile to the real merits of the *Pali* or the Magadhi, and this, far from being removed, was indeed confirmed by the unjust opinion of Colebrooke, one of those patriotic followers of Sir William Jones, who devoted his chief attention to the *Sanskrit* literature—when he pronounced the Pali to be “a dialect used by the vulgar,” and identified it with “the *Apabhhransa*, a jargon destitute of regular grammar.”

This hasty expression of opinion by one so highly esteemed for his deep researches in the Indian literature has not however been without its ill effects. It checked, though for a time, the current of inquiry. It discouraged those who might have otherwise successfully pursued their researches in the Pali. It even damped the energies of the nations of continental Europe, who “are the most diligent cultivators of Oriental languages.” Notwithstanding the investigations of Weber, Benfey, Fausböll, Kuhn, and others of whose labours, so far as we know them in this remote part of the globe, we cannot speak but with the highest terms of commendation—the study of the Pali is yet, I apprehend, far from being extensively pursued by Europeans; and the full extent of the progress which that language has made in Ceylon, and its refinement and purity are imperfectly appreciated even by those who have made Philology their favourite study. Whilst numerous grammatical works in the Sanskrit and other Indian dialects have been published from time to time both in India and Europe, not a single treatise on Pali grammar has yet appeared, if we except the translation of *Balavatara* made in Ceylon; and although several Koshas or lexicons have been likewise published of the former, it is indeed a fact that no *Dictionary* of the latter language has yet made its appearance in any part of the world *save Ceylon*, where too, from many local disadvantages, nothing has been effected beyond the *Abhidhanappadipika* and the *Dhātu Manjūsa* published by the Revd. B. Clough; and a Pali Dictionary (still in MS.) compiled by the Revd. D. J. Gogerly, the Principal of the Wesleyan Mission in Ceylon. When again we perceive that a material advance

has been made by Europeans in the study of the Sanskrit; and the historical, doctrinal and metaphysical works perpetuated in that tongue, have been nearly all translated into European languages, it is indeed not a little to be regretted that in those branches of learning no Pali works have been published (if we except the *Dhammapadam* and *Kammawakya*) beyond the Mahawansa, and various selections from Pali writers, contributed by the Honble. George Turnour, Mr. L. De Zoysa Modliar, and the Revd. D. J. Gogerly.

Amongst all the monuments of Pali literature, the sacred books of Buddha present such a profitable subject of study to the Christian Missionary, on account of the matters therein treated of—which, when thoroughly examined, cannot fail to produce the most valuable materials for the displacement of Buddhism—that one would have naturally thought it had engaged his most earnest attention both in Ceylon and in the Burman Empire. It is however not so. If we except the valuable contribution of the Revd. C. Bennet, of the American Baptist Union, in Burma, entitled the *Malalangara Wattoo*, and the life of Gótama by a Roman Catholic Bishop (I believe Bigandet is his name), there is nothing to recount beyond the labours of the Revd. B. Clough, the Revd. D. J. Gogerly of Ceylon, and the Revd. P. D. Silva of the Wesleyan Mission, to whose valuable researches the public are highly indebted for various Buddhistical tracts in the pages of periodical literature.

It will be thus seen that the merit of *Pali* research belongs to those connected with Ceylon, where the Pali books have been preserved with the reverence accorded to the Buddhist religion. So accurately correct are our books in comparison with the same works on the continent of India, that Mr. Hodgson, who had been long of a different opinion, was latterly compelled to admit—‘that the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language were no longer disputable.’

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## THE LATE KENJIU KASAWARA.

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[The following obituary notice of a young Buddhist priest, Kenjiu Kasawara, appeared in the *Times* of September 22. We reprint it here; with a few additional notes of the writer, Professor Max Müller.]

"SIR,—The last mail from Japan brought me the news of the death of my young friend and pupil, Kenjiu Kasawara, and though his name is little known in England, his death ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed. Does not Mr. Ruskin say quite truly that the lives we need to have written for us are of the people whom the world has not thought of—far less heard of—who are yet doing the most of its work, and of whom we may learn how it can best be done? The life of my Buddhist friend was one of the many devoted, yet unfulfilled lives, which make us wonder and grieve, as we wonder and grieve when we see the young fruit trees in our garden, which were covered with bright blossoms, stripped by a sudden frost of all their beauty and promise.

"Kenjiu Kasawara was a young Buddhist priest who, with his friend Bunyiu Nanjio, was sent by his monastery in the year 1876 from Japan to England, to learn English in London, and afterwards to study Sanskrit at Oxford. They both came to me in 1879, and in spite of many difficulties they had to encounter they succeeded, by dint of hard and honest work, in mastering that language, or at least so much of it as was necessary for enabling them to read the canonical books of Buddhism in the original—that is, in Sanskrit. At first they could hardly explain to me what their real object was in coming all the way from Japan to Oxford, and their progress was so slow that I sometimes despaired of their success. But they themselves

did not, and at last they had their reward. Kasawara's life at Oxford was very monotonous. He allowed himself no pleasures of any kind, and took little exercise; he did not smoke, or drink, or read novels or newspapers. He worked on day after day, often for weeks seeing no one and talking to no one but to me and his fellow-worker, Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. He spoke and wrote English correctly, he learnt some Latin, also a little French, and studied some of the classical English books on history and philosophy. He might have been a most useful man after his return to Japan, for he was not only able to appreciate all that was good in European civilization, but retained a certain national pride, and would never have become a mere imitator of the West. His manners were perfect—they were the natural manners of an unselfish man. As to his character, all I can say is that, though I watched him for a long time, I never found any guile in him, and I doubt whether, during the last four years, Oxford possessed a purer and nobler soul among her students than this poor Buddhist priest. Buddhism may, indeed, be proud of such a man. During the last year of his stay at Oxford I observed signs of depression in him, though he never complained. I persuaded him to see a doctor, and the doctor at once declared that my young friend was in an advanced stage of consumption, and advised him to go home. He never flinched, and I still hear the quiet tone in which he said, 'Yes, many of my countrymen die of consumption.' However, he was well enough to travel and to spend some time in Ceylon, seeing some of the learned Buddhist priests there and discussing with them the differences which so widely separate Southern from Northern Buddhism. But after his return to Japan his illness made rapid strides. He sent me several dear letters, complaining of nothing but his inability to work. His control over his feelings was most remarkable. When he took leave of me, his sallow face remained as calm as ever, and I could hardly read what passed within. But I know that after he had left, he paced for a long time up and down the road, looking again and again at my house, where, as he



told me, he had passed the happiest hours of his life. Once only, in his last letter, he complained of his loneliness in his own country. 'To a sick man,' he wrote, 'very few remain as friends.' Soon after writing this he died, and the funeral ceremonies were performed at Tokio on the 18th of July. He has left some manuscripts behind, which I hope I shall be able to prepare for publication, particularly the 'Dharma-saṅgraha,' a glossary of Buddhist technical terms, ascribed to Nāgârjuna. But it is hard to think of the years of work which are to bear no fruit; still harder to feel how much good that one good and enlightened Buddhist priest might have done among the 32 millions of Buddhists in Japan. *Hæc, pia anima!* I will remember how last year we watched together a glorious sunset from the Malvern Hills, and how, when the Western sky was like a golden curtain, covering we knew not what, he said to me, 'That is what we call the Eastern gate of our Sukhâvatî, the Land of Bliss.' He looked forward to it, and he trusted he should meet there all who had loved him, and whom he had loved, and that he should gaze on the Buddha Amitâbha--i.e. 'Infinite Light.'

*Oxford, Sept. 20.*

F. MAX MÜLLER."

I may add that I possess an English translation of I-tsing's Nān-hâi-ki-kwêi-nêi-fâ-kwhân, made by Kasawara, during his stay at Oxford. It is not complete, and he hoped to finish it after his return to Japan, where a new edition of the Chinese text is now being published from an ancient Korean copy, collated with several Chinese editions. With the help, however, of Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio and some other scholars, I hope it will be possible before long to publish Kasawara's translation of that important work.

When I said that the Dharmasaṅgraha was ascribed to Nāgârjuna, I ought to have added that Nāgârjuna's authorship of the book rests only on the title at the end of the two MSS. which exist in Europe. There we read, *Iti Nāgârjunapâdâvirakîṭâyām Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ samâptaḥ*. This is evidently a wrong, or, at all events, an imperfect title. It would be easy to correct it into *virākito 'yam Dharma-*

saṅgrahaḥ, but that would make Nāgārjuna responsible for a number of technical terms of which it is very doubtful whether they could have existed at so early a date. It is true we could say that terms of a decidedly modern character might have been added to the Dharmasaṅgraha from time to time. There are differences between the two MSS. of the Dharmasaṅgraha, and they show that words and even classes of words were added at a later time. There is, besides, the Chinese translation by Sh'hu (A.D. 980-1000), in which several sections of the Sanskrit text are wanting, while other sections are found there which do not occur in our text (see B. Nanjio, Catalogue, No. 812).

What is still more important is that Nāgārjuna is not mentioned by the Chinese translator as the author of this Buddhist glossary.

It was Mr. Kasawara who, after copying long extracts from the *Pragñā-pāramitā* and its commentary by Nāgārjuna, suggested to me that our list of terms might have been collected from Nāgārjuna's commentary, and that the title might have been originally intended for something like *Iti Nāgārjunapādaviraṭitāyām Pragnāpāramitāvṛttaḥ Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ*. He adds, "This conjecture is very weak, and not worth mentioning." I think, on the contrary, that it is a conjecture of which many a scholar might be proud.

Our great difficulty is the exact age of Nāgārjuna. There is Nāgārjuna, the Bodhisattva, called Luñ-shu, *i.e.* dragon-tree, the fourteenth patriarch; whose life was translated by Kumāragīva, about 400 A.D. (B.N. Cat. 1461). Among the 21 (not 24) works ascribed to him the Dharmasaṅgraha is not mentioned. But there is a curious letter of his, called *Arya-Nāgārjuna-bodhisattva-suhṛllekha*, which ought here to be mentioned. It was translated three times, first by Guṇavarman, A.D. 431; secondly by Saṅghavarman, A.D. 434 (not 534); and thirdly by I-tsing, A.D. 700-712. I-tsing says that the Buddhists in the five parts of India commit these lines to memory when they begin to study their religion. He adds that the letter was addressed by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna to his old patron (Dānapati), a great

king of the South, who was called. So-to-pho-hân-na, *i.e.* Sadvâhana, and whose proper name was Sh'-yen-tôh-kiâ or Shân-tho-kiâ.

Here is the translation of the letter, as taken from I-tsing's Chinese translation, made during his stay at Tâmrâlipti :—

“O-thou of complete virtue, I shall explain the law of suchness (*tathâtvam*), to acquire holy merit (on my part). I shall expound the truest goodness; listen to me with full attention. This verse will be called the Noble Gîtâ.

As an image, whatever its materials be, when carved, is worshipped by all the wise, so, despite of my verse so unskillfully made, let it not be slighted, for the meaning is in accordance with the good law.

Although thou, O King, hast already been acquainted with the law of suchness (*tathâtvam*), yet hear further the words of Buddha, so that thou mayest increase thy understanding and excellence. As a wall well painted is brighter still when illumined by the moon, is not the beauty of a thing increased, when it meets with one still more beautiful?’

(Adoration to) the Buddha, the Religion, and the Community! All who keep the precept of generosity, the gods, who respectively accumulate their virtuous actions—they should always be intent on the teaching of Buddha.

In the practice of the virtuous actions of ten kinds (*Dasakusalakarmapatha*), the body, speech, and mind<sup>1</sup> are the most essential (actors). Let us refrain from all kinds of spirituous liquor (which lead the body, etc., to insanity), so that we may live a pure life.

Know that treasures are not constant—such is their state; and give them, as of right, to holy men. All, both poor and twice-born, will (thereby) be intimate friends in the coming births.

Every virtue has its stand on *Sîla*, as all things prosper on (good) soil. Let us practise with constancy, as we are taught by Buddha.

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<sup>1</sup> See Cowell, *Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. p. 215; *Dhammapadam*, v. 96; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. x. p. 28.

Generosity, good conduct, forbearance, energy, meditation and wisdom are ineffable and incomparable. Let us practise these, because they alone enable us to attain that shore. He is a Buddha who has crossed over the sea of births."

So far the letter. But who is the King to whom it is addressed? It is natural to suppose that he was a *Sâtavâhana*, a king in Southern India, and belonged to the *Andhrabhṛitya* dynasty. On referring, however, to the names of the sovereigns of that dynasty, as given in the *Purâṇas*, there is no name like *Sh'-yen-tôh-kiâ*, or *Shân-tho-kiâ*. One might have thought of that corrupt name *Kivilaka* or *Vivilaka*, but the more authoritative reading is *Ivilaka* or *Apitaka* (see *Vishṇu. Pur.* transl. by Wilson, ed. F. Hall, vol. iv. p. 196).

Fortunately we are now in possession of far more trustworthy documents on the *Sâtavâhana* dynasty, thanks chiefly to the labours of Pandit Bhagvānlal Indrajī. But on referring to his last essay on "*Nasik, Pāṇḍu Lena Caves*," in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, we look again in vain for anything corresponding to the Chinese name. It cannot be *Sâtakarṇi*, or, in Pāli, *Sadakāṇi*, unless the Chinese transliteration is supposed to be very corrupt. The only Sanskrit names that one might guess at under the strange Chinese disguises are *Gi-in-ta-ka* or *Gñātaka*, possibly *Getrika* or *Dhyātrika*.

Hsiouen-thsang confirms the tradition of *Nāgârguna* having been the friend of *Sâtavâhana*. When speaking of *Kosala* (I. p. 185), he says that at a small distance, south of the town, there was an old monastery built by *Asoka*, and that later *Nāgârguna* established himself there, patronized by King *Sâtavâhana*. He adds that the famous *Bodhisattva Deva* came from Ceylon to see *Nāgârguna* and learn from him. In another place (I. p. 274) Hsiouen-thsang speaks again of *Nāgârguna* as the contemporary of *Deva*, and alludes to the "*Four Suns*," *Nāgârguna* in the West, *Deva* in the South, *Asvaghosha* in the East, and *Kumâragîva* in the North, as if they had lived at the same time. Lastly, he returns more fully to the same subject in vol. iii. p. 95, and we there learn from his translation of the name *Sâtavâhana* by

In-ching, "he who leads the good," that he probably read the name as Sadvâhana.

In conclusion, I may notice two traditions, one, first mentioned by Wilson (Works, vol. iii. p. 181), that Sâtavâhana is a synonym of Sâlivâhana, the enemy of Vikramâditya, and another, first noticed by Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, ii. p. 89), that Hâla, the name of the collector of the 700 popular verses (Saptasatakam), is a known title of Sâlivâhana (see also Weber, Saptasataka, p. 2). On the real date of Nâgârguna, as the contemporary of Kanishka, I have touched in my Lectures on "India, what can it teach us?" p. 304.

I am afraid I have rather wandered away from the chief subject of this notice, but as I and Kasawara had often discussed these questions together, I leave what I have written, hoping that I may soon find time to arrange all the materials which we collected for an edition of the Dharmasaṅgraha, and to publish them as a lasting monument of my late friend and pupil, Kenjiu Kasawara.

Oxford, 5 Nov. 1883.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

*Note.*—I have just time to add that the Tibetan translation of Nâgârguna's letter, which I asked Dr. Wenzel to examine for me, gives the King's name as Utrayana, a Tibetan corruption for Udayana (see Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus, übersetzt von Schiefner, p. 2, n. 2; p. 71). This Udayana, as we learn from the same Târanâtha, p. 303, was also called Ântivâhana, which Schiefner doubtfully identifies with the Greek name Antiochos, but of which there is a various reading, Sântivâhana (l.c. p. 304). What is most satisfactory is that, according to Târanâtha, Udayana, when a boy, was called Getaka (l.c. p. 303). This shows again the great value of the Tibetan translation of Buddhist texts, which, as a rule, are far superior to the Chinese translations. I hope that my young friend, Dr. Wenzel, will soon give us some more of the results of his valuable researches in Tibetan literature.

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## BUDDHA.

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[THE following graceful verses are reprinted by the kind permission of both author and editor, from the *Spectator* of the 15th September, 1883.]

Whoe'er hath wept one tear or borne one pain,  
 (The Master said and entered into rest)  
 Not fearing wrath nor meaning to be blest,  
 Simply for love—howbeit wrought in vain—  
 Of one poor soul, his brother, being old  
 Or sick, or lost through satisfied desire,  
 Stands in God's vestibule, and hears his Choir  
 Make merry music on their harps of gold.

What is it but the seed of Very Love  
 To teach sad eyes to smile, mute lips to move?  
 And he that for a score of centuries  
 Hath lived; and calls a continent his own,  
 Giving world-weary souls Heaven's best surprise,  
 Halts only at the threshold of the Throne.

*Adqington Park, Croydon.*

A. C. BENSON.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### ON PASSAGES IN THE MAHĀVAGGA.

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THE publication of Professor Oldenberg's text of the Vinaya-piṭaka may be said to have inaugurated a new era in the systematic study of Pāli. With a text and in part also a translation before us, the first ground is fairly broken, and the time seems to have come when special criticism may profitably be applied to particular passages and phrases of these renowned scriptures.

I have responded to an invitation to publish these few notes in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, not so much for the importance of the phrases or words that I have attempted to elucidate—though in several cases this is considerable—but rather because I feel that a Society like ours offers very exceptional opportunities for the interchange of opinions embodying something of the characteristic criticism both of the East and of the West.

In Mahāvagga, Bk. I. Ch. 5 ("Brahmayācana kathā") at the end (§ 12) occurs the following gāthā :

Apārutā tesam amatassa dvārā ye sotavanto  
pamuñcantu saddham |

Vihimsasāññi paṇaṇaṃ na bhāsi dhammaṃ  
paṇitaṃ manujesu Brahme 'ti ||

which is thus translated (Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xiii. "Vinaya Texts," tr. Davids and Oldenberg, p. 88) :

‘Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it. The Dhamma sweet and good I spake not, Brahmà, despairing of the weary task, to men.’

The first difficulty of this passage is that, at first reading, the Buddha appears to be made to say ‘let men relinquish faith,’ which of course, in this unqualified form at all events, would be as foreign to the spirit of Buddhist, as of Hindu or Christian, teaching. To obviate this difficulty, the translators attribute to the verb *pamuṇcati* a meaning which I venture to think it will be found hard to substantiate. ‘Send forth’ can be easily verified as a meaning for the root, but ‘send forth *to meet*,’ on which the whole point of the rendering depends, is unexampled in either Pāli or Sanskrit dictionaries.

On the contrary, among the examples quoted in Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. (pra-) *muc*, the *literal* usages nearest to the sense of ‘send forth’ are passages where the verb is used, (absolutely, as required, without an ablative case) of ‘*emitting*’ a sound or a fluid. But such ‘sending forth’ is a very different thing from sending forth a kind of despatch or deputation of welcome, which, I take it, is the meaning that most English readers would attach to the phrase employed.

Among the metaphorical usages quoted for *pramuc*, it is curious to observe that in *Mahābhārata* III. 10819 we get the diametrically opposite sense of relinquishing sin, in the phrase ‘*sarvam pāpam pramokshyasi*.’

The question thus naturally arises, how can we modify our rendering of *saddham* so as to suit the ordinary meanings of *pamuṇcati*?

The solution that originally suggested itself to me was to take *saddham* as equal not to ‘*ṣraddhām*’ ‘faith,’ but to ‘*ṣrāddham*’ ‘an offering to the Manes.’ But as authority for this I have only Childers’s citations from the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, which is a somewhat late authority for the language of so early a book as the *Mahāvagga*. In connexion with this proposal I proceed to the consider-



ation of the first word in the following line, vihiṃsa-saññî, which I would render 'conscious of the cruelty [of mankind].' It is almost needless to observe how very characteristic of Buddhistic thought is such a use of 'cruelty' as typical of all vice or evil; indeed, we may say characteristic of Indian thought in general, comparing passages like Hitopadeṣa 19, 22 (ed. Schlegel), where we find "dharmaçâstrâṇâm 'ahiṃsâ paramo dharmâ' ity aikamatyam." On this showing, the train of thought would be: 'I exhort the understanding few to relinquish the fleshly and often life-destroying observances of the old religion; to the many I have not [as yet] preached, because I am conscious of their cruelty and wickedness.' Doubtless, at any time from the days of Âçvalâyana to the present, the çrâddha may well have been selected as one of the most prominent and typical observances of every-day Brahmanism.

I now turn to the explanation of this passage as given in the commentary. As, unfortunately, no English library possesses a Mahāvagga-commentary, I consulted the MS. at Paris, and was subsequently favoured by M. Léon Feer, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with two very kind and interesting letters, from which I extract all that bears on the passage; venturing at the same time, with some regret, to render it into English, that no point may escape our readers in the East. M. Feer writes:

"I send herewith the commentary on the stanza of the Brahmayâcanagâthâ according to the Samanta Pâsâdikâ (commentary on the Mahāvagga), and according to the Sârattha Pakâsinî (commentary on the Samyutta-nikâya), the first represented by two MSS., one Burmese, the other Sinhalese; the second by a single Siamese MS.

Apârutâ<sup>1</sup> ti vivata || amatassa dvarâ ti ariyamaggo ||  
so hi amatasankhâtassa nibbânassa dvâraṃ<sup>2</sup> || || Pamuñ-  
cantu saddhan ti sabbe attano<sup>3</sup> saddham pamuñcantu

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<sup>1</sup> Aparutânî, Sinhalese MS. <sup>2</sup> dvaram so maya vivaritaṃ thamito ti dasseti, Siamese. " attanâ, Siam.

vissajjentu<sup>1\*</sup> || pacchimapadadvaye ayam attho || || Ahaṃ  
hi attano paṇaṃ<sup>2</sup> suppvatti<sup>3</sup> imaṃ paṇitaṃ<sup>4</sup> uttamaṃ  
dhammaṃ<sup>5</sup> kāyavācākilamattha saññi hutvā<sup>2</sup> manujesu de-  
vamanussesu nābhāsi<sup>5</sup> ||

You will see that there are slight differences between the two MSS. of the Samanta Pāsādikā, and that the Sarāṭṭha-Pakāsini agrees in effect with the Samanta Pāsādikā, notwithstanding certain differences.

There must have existed a various reading for the words pamuñcantu saddham. I do not know whether its trace is to be found in the Pāli canon, but the Tibetan version, the Dulva, reveals it to us; for our stanza is found there. Now the whole pada is there translated as follows :

ñan par	su	hdod	som ñi	sol cig	dañ
audire	qui	cupit	dubium	purget	atque . . .
			vel		
			dubia		

Now som-ñi is the ordinary translation of the Sanskrit kâṅkshā 'desire,' whose Pāli equivalent kaṅkha is rendered by 'doubt' in Childers. Whether we translate 'doubt' or 'desire' in the passage before us, a satisfactory sense is obtained. But it is evident in my judgment that the translator of the Dulva had before him a text reading kaṅkham instead of saddham, and a different verb from pamuñcantu. It would have been so easy for him to put down dad pa spon jig, or some analogous expression, that the translator must certainly have worked on a text which did not include the word saddham, and it is inadmissible to suppose that he allowed himself to emend the text.

I think, then, that there are one or more various readings for this pada; only, it would be interesting to discover their trace in Pāli literature. Now, all that we know, whether text or commentary, gives us the reading pamuñcantu

<sup>1\*</sup> Om. Burm.; °jjantu, Siam. <sup>2</sup> . . . <sup>2</sup> suppvattim pi imaṃ paṇitaṃ uttamadhammak° °attham saññitā hu°, Sinh. <sup>3</sup> Sampavattitam pi, Siam. <sup>4</sup> uttamadh°, Siam. <sup>5</sup> . . . <sup>5</sup> °vācākilapatha saññi hutvā na bhāsi, Siam.

saddham, as adopted without dispute; only, this reading is a little troublesome to interpret.

I now call your attention to a stanza in Lalita-vistara, Bk. xxv., which corresponds with that before us. It runs thus in the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica* [p. 520] :

apāvṛitās teshām amṛitasya dvārā  
 Brahmann iti satataṃ ye çrotavantaḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 praviçanti çraddhā na viheṭhasaṃjñā  
 çṛiṇvanti dharmāṃ Magadheshu sattvāḥ ||

The last pada has one syllable too few, and the MSS. [at Paris] have between the two last padas, *i.e.* between viheṭhasaṃjñā and çṛiṇvanti, the letters npūnaḥ,<sup>2</sup> which are embarrassing. But with this difficulty I am not at present concerned, turning rather to the consideration of the words praviçanti çraddhā, which correspond to pamuñcantu saddham in the Pāli. In the edition of the *Bibliotheca Indica*, çraddhā is interpreted in a foot-note by çraddhāvantaḥ. But we might read çraddhām; or again praviçantu and çṛiṇvantu. Whatever be the conclusion, I direct your attention to this passage, and would further note that the Tibetan translation, which here lacks its usual exactness, and especially disturbs the order of the padas (a tolerably frequent occurrence), unites into a single (Tibetan) pada the Sanskrit words çrotavantaḥ praviçanti çraddhā. It thus renders them:

rna-ba	ldan	jiṇ	dad-pa	ldan	gyurla
aures	habentes	et	fidem	habentes	facti
çrotavantaḥ (praviçanti) çraddhā					

The Tibetan version does not authorize the correction of praviçanti to praviçantu; but it gives no indication for or against that of çraddhā to çraddhām. It interprets 'having faith,' without giving a special translation of the word *praviçanti*. The writer may perhaps have read *prabhavanti*, and have intended to represent that word by *gyur-la* in the translation.

<sup>1</sup> çrotavantaḥ, Cambridge MSS.    <sup>2</sup> punaḥ, Camb. MSS.

I believe that the compiler of the Lalita-vistara corrected the text of the Vinaya, or else selected a stanza which it had been proposed to substitute for that of the Vinaya. I consider the Tibetan text as a *various reading*, or—which amounts to the same thing—a *very ancient emendation* of the text of the Mahāvagga. The text of the Lalita-vistara I regard as a later various reading, *i.e.* as an *emendation* properly so-called, which arose from the difficulties of interpretation.”

The field of criticism opened to us by this most suggestive letter is very large.

One point, however, seems to come out clearly amid the curious perplexities of the passage, namely, that we have before us the remnant, at all events, of an early and widely diffused utterance of Buddhist teaching, a simple and striking metaphor which one would fain attribute to Gotama himself. This consideration may serve to excuse the development of what was originally intended as a short note into a somewhat lengthy excursus.

First, then, with regard to the Sanskrit of the Lalita-vistara,<sup>1</sup> it seems to me that the variation from the Pāli is due, in part at least, to a cause different from either of those suggested by M. Feer.

In the same chapter, at p. 517 of the printed text, we get, at the beginning of a long passage of verse, the following gāthā:

vādo babhūva samalair<sup>2</sup> vicintito  
 dharmo hy aṣuddho<sup>3</sup> Magadheshu pūrvam |  
 amṛitam mune tad vivṛiṇīṣhva dvāraṃ  
 ṣṛiṇvanti dharmavipulaṃ<sup>4</sup> vimalena buddham ||

I think, then, that the gāthā first quoted is a deliberate *adaptation* from the Pāli, suggested by the language, particularly by the image of ‘opening the door of amṛita’ in

<sup>1</sup> As to the importance of this book in connexion with the study of Pāli, it is hardly necessary to refer to Prof. Oldenberg’s most interesting paper in the ‘Verhandlungen’ of the Congress of Orientalists at Berlin, 1881 (II. n. p. 115).

<sup>2</sup> Salilai, Cambridge MSS.

<sup>3</sup> mo viṣuddho, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> dharmam vi, *ibid.*

the verse (just cited) which had preceded, itself probably founded on the original form of our Pāli gāthā or some saying closely resembling it.

This supposition will account for the presence of the three words *ṣṛipvanti dharmam Magadheshu*, which are represented in the other Sanskrit verse, but are not in the Pāli, and form, in fact, the chief discrepancy between the Sanskrit and Pāli.

Unfortunately, the Sanskrit passages, though interesting in themselves, give us no direct help for the interpretation of our chief crux, *pamuñcantu saddham*. It may be observed, however, that the adjective *viheṭhasaññā* has the ordinary and literal sense, which I would assign to *vihimsasaññā*, in contradistinction to the metaphorical meaning given by the translators, and apparently by the Pāli commentary, though it is in agreement with a different noun.<sup>1</sup>

Returning now to the question of more strictly Pāli

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, too, *saññā* has acquired the meaning noted by M. Senart for *saññā* (*Mahāvastu*, p. 375).

I add here a few observations on the passages of the *Lalitavistara* concerning points that have less bearing on the Pāli text.

The metrical difficulty in *ṣṛipvanti* may perhaps be solved by reading or pronouncing *ṣṛipvanti*, as if the root ended in a consonant. In the phrase *pratyakṣāṇi graddhā*, I have no doubt that *graddhā* is for *graddhavi*. Compare the Vedic usage, e.g. *dhārā* for *dhāravi* in *Rigv.* ix. 98, 2, and the analogous forms for the locative feminine in *ām* in this gāthā-dialect; e.g. *gṛmāḥasāññā* for *tāyām*, cited by Dr. E. Müller in his paper in *A. Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, viii. 274.

With regard to the ancient versions, the kind help of Prof. Douglas has enabled me to consult the two Chinese works stated to be translations of the *Lalitavistara*. The older of these (No. 160 in Mr. Bunsin Nanjio's Catalogue) turns out to be not a translation of the Sanskrit text as known to us. The division into chapters is different, and the correspondences of language are only occasional. A case like this should put us on our guard in accepting the statements of Chinese works, such as that cited by Mr. Nanjio, as to supposed translations from the Sanskrit. The second Chinese version (No. 150) of the fifth century A.D., though it reproduces fairly well the Sanskrit of Chapter xxv., curiously enough substitutes a different verse for the gāthā beginning *apavattā*; but translates that beginning *vado babhūva*. Whether this substitution points to the existence of a text anterior to the *adaptation* I have supposed, or is simply due to the difficulty of the verse, it is of course, hard to say.

As to the other version, the Tibetan, I will only call the attention of those who may consult Fournier's Tibetan text and French translation to the word in the next line: *itaḥ-tu*, which seems to represent the Sanskrit *satatam*, though the French does not show this.

criticism above raised, I note first that the commentary takes *pamuñcantu*, in its ordinary sense of 'relinquish,' but seems to understand the whole phrase as equivalent to 'let all relinquish the faith that each feels in his own religion.' I confess that this, if I rightly interpret it, seems to me somewhat strained; and I see no sense to be got by connecting *attano* as an ablative with *vissajjentu*.

To M. Feer's note on the Tibetan word *som-ni*, which I have not been able to verify, I will only add a suggestion that if *kañkham* was before the Tibetan translator, the immediate stage between the two readings may have been the form *sañkam*, which approximates to the one word in meaning and to the other in form.

I conclude this note, already too far extended, I fear, by a request that if any reader of this Journal can cite any further authority for *saddha* = *grâddha*, he will make it known. For I cannot but think that this interpretation, if it can be substantiated, gives the sense that is at once the most simple and the most consistent and harmonious.

*Mahāvagga* I. 13, §1. *yoniso manasikāra*. Can any member of the society offer any explanation of the usage of *yoniso* so as to trace it to an intelligible derivation? The account in Childers s.v. is not very satisfactory. Cf. Senart, *Mahāv.* p. 371.

I. 15, §6. *Īṅha tvam . . . anujānāhi agyāgāran*. = "Come now, you grant me . . ." This use of *īṅha* (=agedum) suggests a derivation from the Sanskrit *aṅga*, which occurs as an emphatic vocative particle in Pāṇini and early Sanskrit; and likewise in Buddhist Sanskrit, e.g. in the *Lañkāvatāra*, ch. 1., leaf 9b 5 of the R.A.S. MS., "Kim *aṅga* punar dharmādharmayoḥ . . . viçesho na bhavati? Bhavatyeva." For the sound-changes it will suffice to refer to instances given in Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik*. Thus we have *i* from *a* before *ṅg* in *mutiṅga* for Sansk. *mṛidaṅga*; for the aspiration, which is rarer for soft than for hard consonants, *siṅghāto* and *siṅghāṭakam*, corresponding to the Sansk. *çṛiṅgāṭa*.

I. 22, §16. *Bimbisārassa etad ahoṣi: kattha . . . bhagavā*

vihareyya, yaṃ assa . . . divā appākiṇṇam rattim appasaddam appanigghosam vijanavātaṃ mānussarāhaseyyakam patisallānasāruppam.

This is translated (Vinaya Texts, I. 143): 'Where may I find a place for the Blessed One to live in . . . by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to much noise and alarm, clean of the smell of men, well fitted for a retired life?'

Though, for the sake of convenience, I have quoted the context, it is of the interpretation of the word vijanavātaṃ only that I would speak. Like Drs. Davids and Oldenberg, I understand this compound to refer to the atmosphere of the Buddha's proposed dwelling, but I analyze its parts differently. They clearly *construe*, so to say, vi- 'without,' jana-vāta 'people-air,' *i.e.* 'the polluted air of crowded or frequented places.' The notion conveyed in the last expression is familiar enough to those who, like myself, are engaged in large public institutions; but I doubt whether, if this was what the compiler of this early text intended, he would have expressed it by a compound so bald and liable to misconstruction as jana-vāta.

I therefore propose to divide the word not vi-janavāta, but vijana-vāta, and translate accordingly, 'having its air from an unfrequented place,' or 'breathing the wind of the wilderness.'

The meaning thus obtained does not differ widely from that of the published translation (and I trust the learned translators will not consider me hypercritical for calling attention to it), but it seems to me to yield slightly better sense, and likewise to be in far better accordance with the analogy of such compounds. To illustrate the use of each member of the compound as I divide it, I cite a couple of examples taken from Böhtlingk and Roth: (1) malaya-vāta 'wind from Malaya,' Vikramorvaṇi, 25, where vāta is used at the end of an ablatival compound; (2) vijanasevin, Kathāsaritsāgara, 7, 195, where vijana is used substantively as the first member of a compound.

## KHUDDASIKKHÂ AND MÛLASIKKHÂ.

EDITED BY

DR. EDWARD MÜLLER.

THE Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ form a short compendium of the Vinaya, mostly in verse, a few passages only being given in prose. The MSS. of the same are all written in the Burmese character, and there is also a Burmese edition which comprises the Bhikkhupâṭimokkha, the Bhikkhunipâṭimokkha and the Abhidhammatthasamgraha, printed at Rangoon in 1882; we possess, however, a Sinhalese commentary belonging to the twelfth century, which proves that the books must have been known in Ceylon at that time.

About the age of the books it is very difficult to form a certain opinion. The language is rather more modern than that of the Mahāvamsa, and exigencies of the metre have introduced forms which are anything but classical; for instance, the optative *de* from *dā*, the metathesis *harāṃpacā* for *paccāharāṃ*, III. 5, and the frequent elision of a beginning vowel after anusvāra, which only occurs in late texts (see Childers, s.v. peyyālam, and J.R.A.S. vol. xi. p. 112). The language is, however, not so artificial and not mixed with Sanskritisms to such an extent as that of the Dāṭhāvamsa.

Alwis, in his introduction to the Sidat Sangarāwa, p. cl, assigns a rather early date to Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ, viz. A.D. 350, but without any sufficient reasons. It seems that the language of the Sinhalese commentary has misled him, a language only little more modern than that of the rock inscription of Mihintale (see my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, No. 121), the date of which Alwis, following Turnour (Ceylon Almanac for 1834, p. 137), has fixed in A.D. 262. It was, however, already shown by Paul



Goldschmidt that this cannot be correct, and that the inscription belongs to Mahinda III. at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century.

The question about the age of Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ is, of course, quite independent from that about the commentary, and so we may still consider the statement from the Burmese histories of the Pitaka adduced by Forchhammer in his Report, p. 5, that a Sinhalese priest, by name Dhamma Siri, wrote the Mûlasikkhâ, and a confrere Mahâsâmi the Khuddasikkhâ, about 920 years after Gautama's death. In fact, the name of the author of Khuddasikkhâ is given as Dhammasiri in the last stanza but one:

tena Dhammasirîkena Tambapanniyaketunâ  
therena racitâ dhammavinayaññupasaṃsitâ.

Under these circumstances, I must leave it undecided for the present whether the date as given by Alwis and Forchhammer is correct, or whether we should in fixing it consider the language, which rather points to the sixth or seventh century. I will only mention besides that both works are referred to in the great inscription of Parâkramabâhu at the Galwihâra, Polonnaruwa (see my Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, No. 137), in lines 19 and 22, and that the great grammarian Moggallâna, living at the same time, is said to have written a *ṭikâ* on Khuddasikkhâ, which may have been the base of the Sinhalese commentary still in existence (see Note on the Pâli Grammarian Kaccâyana, by Lieut.-Col. G. E. Fryer, in his *Subodhâlankâra*, p. 4).

At the end of the text will be found a comparative list of passages in Khuddasikkhâ and Mûlasikkhâ on one side and Oldenberg's Vinaya on the other. In spite of a careful investigation, I have not succeeded in identifying all the passages of the two texts given here, and I am driven to the conclusion that these passages are not contained in the text of the Vinaya, but are taken from the commentaries. In a few cases I have succeeded in identifying passages from Samanta Pâsâdikâ and Kankhâ Vitarani with the help of the quotations given in Minayeff's edition of the Pâtimokkha.

# KHUDDASIKKHÂ.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÂSAMBUDDHASSA.

## *Mâtikâ.*

- 1 Âdito upasampannâ sikkhitabbam samâtikam  
khuddasikkham pavakkhâmi vanditvâ ratanattayam
- 2 Pârâjikâ ca cattâro garukâ navacîvaram  
rajanâni ca patto ca thâlakâ ca pavâraṇâ
- 3 Kâlikâ ca paṭiggâho mamsesu ca akappiyam  
nissaggiyâni pâcitti samaṇâ kappabhûmiyo
- 4 Upajjhâceravattâni vaccapassâvathânikaṃ  
âpucchakaranam naggo nhânakappo avandiyo
- 5 Cammam upâhaṇâ ceva anolokiyam añjaṇi  
akappiyasayanâni samânâsaniko pi ca
- 6 Asamvâsiḱo ca kammaṃ micchâ jîvavivajjanâ  
vattam vikappanâ ceva nissayo kâyabandhanam
- 7 Paṭhavi ca parikkhâro bhesajjugghadûsanam  
vassûpanâyikâ cevâvebhangiyam pakiṇṇakam
- 8 Desanâ chandadânâdi uposathappavâraṇâ  
saṃvaro suddhi santoso caturakkhâ vipassanâ ti.

## *I. Pârâjikâ ca cattâro ti.*

- 1 Maggattaye anikkhitta sikkho santhatasanthate  
alokâse nimittamsam tilamattam pi santhatam
- 2 Asanthatamupâdiṇṇam pavesanto cuto 'thavâ  
pavesanathituddhâra pavittṭhakkhaṇasâdako
- 3 Âdiyeyya hareyya vâ hareyya iriyâpatham  
kopeyya thânâ câveyya saṃketam vîtinâmaye

- 4 Adinnaṃ theyyacittena bhava pārājiko 'thavâ  
theyyâ balaḥusacchanna parikappâvahâra
- 5 Bhaṇḍakâlagghadesehi paribhoge tha nicchayo  
manussaviggaham cicca jivitâ vâ viyojaye
- 6 Sattham vâ assa maraṇacetano upanikkhipe  
gâheyya maranûpâyam vadeyya maraṇe guṇam
- 7 Cuto payogâ sâhatthi nissaggâṇatti thâvarâ  
iddhivijjâmayâ kâlavatthâvudhiriyâpathâ
- 8 Kriyâviseso okâso cha âṇattiniyâmakâ  
jhânâdibheda no santam attanattupanâyikam
- 9 Katvâ koṭṭhâsam ekekaṃ paccuppannabhavassitaṃ  
aññapadesarahitaṃ dipento nâdhimâniko  
kâyena vâcâ viññatti pathe ñâte cuto bhava
- 10 Pârâjikete cattâro asaṃvâsâ yathâ pure  
abhabbâ bhikkhubhâvâya sîsacchinno va jivitum
- 11 Pariyâyo ca âṇatti tatiye dutiye pana  
âṇatti yeva sesesu dvayam etaṃ na labbhati
- 12 Sevetukâmatâ cittaṃ magge maggappavesanaṃ  
imaṃ methunadhammassa âhu angadvayaṃ budhâ
- 13 Manussasanthatâ saññî theyyacittaṃ ca vatthuno  
garukâ avahâro ca adinnâdânahetuyo
- 14 Pâṇo manussako pâṇasaññitâghâtacetanâ  
payogo tena maraṇam pañcete vadhaletuyo
- 15 Asanthatâ attani pâpamicchatâ yâ rocanâ tassa manussajâ  
titâ  
naññappadeso ca tadeva jânanam pañcettha angâni  
asantadîpane
- 16 Asâdhâraṇâ cattâro bhikkhunînam abhabbatâ  
ekâdasa ca vibbhantâ bhikkhunî mudupiṭṭhiko
- 17 Lambimukhena gaṇhanto angajâtaṃ parassa ca  
tatthevâbhinisîdanto cattâro anulomikâ
- 18 Magge maggappavesanâ methunassa idhâgatâ  
cattâro ti catubbisa samodhânâ pārâjikâ ti.

## II. Garukâ navâ ti.

- 1 Mocetukâmatâ sukkassupakkamma vimocayam  
aññatra supinanta samano garukaṃ phuse
- 2 Itthisaññî manussitthim kâyasamsaggarâgavâ

- samphusanto upakkammā samaṇo garukaṃ phuse  
 3 Tathā suṇanti viññāṃ ca maggaṃ vārabba methunaṃ  
 duṭṭhullavācā rāgeṇa obhāsento garuṃ phuse  
 4 Vatvattakāmupatṭhānavannaṃ methunarāgino  
 vācā methunayuttēna garuṃ methunayācane  
 5 Paṭiggahetvā sandesaṃ itthiyā purisassa vā  
 vīmaṃsitvā haraṃ paccā samaṇo garukaṃ phuse  
 6 Saṃyācitaparikkhāraṃ katvā desita vatthukaṃ  
 kuṭiṃ pamāṇātikantaṃ attuddesaṃ garuṃ phuse  
 7 Mahallakaṃ vihāraṃ vā katvā desitavatthukaṃ  
 attano vasanathāya samaṇo garukaṃ phuse  
 8 Amūlakena codento codāpento ca vatthunā  
 antimeṇa ca cāvetuṃ suṇamānaṃ garuṃ phuse  
 9 Aññassa kiriyāṃ disvā thenalesena codayaṃ  
 vatthunā antimeṇaññāṃ cāvetuṃ garukaṃ phuse  
 10 Chādeti jānaṃ āpannaṃ parivaseyya tāvatā  
 careyya saṃghe mānattaṃ parivutṭho cha rattiyo  
 ciṇṇamānattaṃ abhēyya taṃ sangho vīsattiggaṇo  
 11 Āpattinukkhittaṃ anantarāya pahuttatāyo tathā saññi-  
 tā ca  
 chādetukāmo atha chādanā ti channā dasangehyaru-  
 ṇuggamamhi ti.

### III. Cīvaran ti.

- 1 Khomakoseyyakappāsasāṇabhangāni kambalaṃ  
 kappiyāni chaletāni sānulomāni jātito
- 2 Dukūlañ ceva paṭṭuṇṇapaṭisomārācinajaṃ  
 iddhijaṃ devadinnañca tasso tassānulomikaṃ
- 3 Ticīvaraṃ parikkhāraṇaṃ vassikasāṭikaṃ  
 adhiṭṭhe na vikappēyya mukhapuñchanisīdanaṃ
- 4 Paccattharaṇakaṃ kaṇḍucchādim ettha ticīvaraṃ  
 navaseyyavinekāhaṃ cātumāsaṃ nisīdanaṃ
- 5 Imāṃ saṅghātiṃ dhiṭṭhāmi saṅghātim iccadhiṭṭhake  
 ahatthapāsaṃ etaṃ ti sesesu pi ayan nayo
- 6 Adhiṭṭhahanto saṅghāti pabhūti pubbacīvaraṃ  
 paccuddharitvādhiṭṭheyya pattādhiṭṭhahane tathā
- 7 Etaṃ imāṃ 'va saṅghātiṃ saṃse paccuddharāmiti  
 evaṃ sabbāni nāmena vatvā paccuddhare vidū

- 8 Sanghâṭi pacchimantena dīghaso mutṭhipaṇcako  
uttamantena sugatacīvarūnāpi vaṭṭati
- 9 Mutṭhittikaṇ ca tiriyaṃ tathā ekamsikassa pi  
antaravāsako cāpi dīghaso mutṭhipaṇcako
- 10 Aḍḍhateyyo dvihattho vā tiriyaṇtena vaṭṭati  
nisīdanassa dīghena vidatthi dve pi sālato
- 11 Diyaddham dasā vidatthi sugatassa vidatthiyā  
kaṇḍuppaṭichādikassa tiriyaṃ dve vidatthiyo
- 12 Dighan tato catasso vā sugatassa vidatthiyā  
vassikasāṭikāya pi dīghaso cha vidatthiyo
- 13 Tiriyaṃ aḍḍhateyyo 'va sugatassa vidatthiyā  
ettha chedanapācitti karontassa tad uttari
- 14 Paccatharamukhacola ākankhitappamāṇikā  
parikkhāracoḷe gaṇanā pamānaṃ vā na dīpitaṃ
- 15 Tathā vatvā adhiṭṭheyya thavikādiṃ vikappiyaṃ  
āhatahatakappānaṃ sanghāṭi diguṇā siyā
- 16 Ekacciyoṭtarasango tathā antaravāsako  
utuddhatānaṃ dussānaṃ sanghāṭi ca catugguṇā
- 17 Bhaveyyuṃ diguṇā sesā paṃsukūle yathāruci  
tīsu dve vāpi ekaṃ vā chinditabbam pahoti yaṃ
- 18 Sabbesu appahontesu anvādhim ādiyeyya vā  
achinnaṃ ca anādinnaṃ na dhāreyya ticīvaraṃ
- 19 Gāme nivesane uddositapāsādaḥhammiye  
nāvaṭṭamāḷaārāme satthakhettaḥḥale dume
- 20 Ajjhokāse vihāre vā nikkhipitvā ticīvaraṃ  
bhikkhusammutiyaññātra vipavattthuṃ na vaṭṭati
- 21 Rogavassapariyaṇtā kaṇḍucehādikasāṭikā  
tato paraṃ vikappeyya sesā aparīyaṇtikā
- 22 Paccattharaparikkhāramukhapuñchanacolaḥkaṃ  
dasam pyarattanādiṇṇa kappam labbham nisīdanaṃ
- 23 Adasaṃ rajitaṃ yeva sesa cīvarapaṇcakaṃ  
kappatādiṇṇakappaṃ va sadasaṃ va nisīdanaṃ
- 24 Anadhiṭṭhita nissatṭhaṃ kappetvā paribhuñjaye  
batṭhadīghan tatopaḍḍhavitthāraṇ ca vikappiyaṃ
- 25 Ticīvarassa bhikkhussa sabbam etaṃ pakāsitaṃ  
parikkhāracoḷiyo sabbam tathā vatvā adhiṭṭhaṇi
- 26 Acchedavissajjanagāhaviḍḍhamā paccuddharo māraṇa-  
lingasikkhā

sabbesvadhiṭṭhāna viyogakāraṇā nibbiddhachiddaṇ ca  
ticīvarassa pi

- 27 Kusavākaphalakāni kambalaṃ kesavāḷajaṃ  
thullaccayaṃ dhārayato 'lūkapakkhājīnakkhiṇe  
kadaleraḥakkadusse potthake cāpi dukkaṭaṃ
- 28 Sabbanīlakamañjetṭhapīḥhitakapaṇhake  
mahāraṃgamahānānararaṅgaratte tirīṭake
- 29 Acchinnadīghadasake phalapupphadase tathā  
kaṇcuke veṭṭhane sabbam labhati chinnacīvaro ti.

#### IV. Rajanāni cāti.

- 1 Mūlakkhandhatacapattaphalapupphappabbhedato  
rajanāni chabbidhāni anuññātāni satthunā
- 2 Mūle haliddiṃ khandhe ca mañjetṭhatungahāraḥake  
allim nīliṇ ca pattesu tace loddāṇ ca kaṇḍulaṃ  
kusumbhaṃ kimsukaṃ pupphe sabbam labbhaṃ visajji-  
yā ti.

#### V. Patto cāti.

- 1 Ayopatto bhūmipatto jātiyā kappiyā duve  
ukkaṭṭho majjhimo ceva omako ca pamāṇato
- 2 Ukaṭṭho māgadhaṇāḷi dvayaṭaṇḍulasādhitaṃ  
gaṇhāti odanaṃ sūpaṃ byañjanaṇca tadūpiyaṃ
- 3 Majjhimo tassupaḍḍho 'va tatopaḍḍho 'va omako  
ukkaṭṭhato ca ukkaṭṭho apatto omakomato
- 4 Atirekapatto dhāreyya dasāhaparamaṃsako  
kappo nissaggiyo hoti tasmim kāle 'tināmite
- 5 Acchedadānagāhehi vibbhamā maranuddhaṭṭa  
lingasikkhā hi chiddena patto 'dhiṭṭhānam ujjiṭhāti
- 6 Pattaṃ na ppaṭisāmeyya sodakaṃ na ca otape  
uṇhena niddahe bhūmyā na ṭhape no ca laggaye
- 7 Miḍhante paribhaṇḍante ange vā ātapattake  
pādesu mañcapīṭhe vā ṭhapetaṃ na ca kappati
- 8 Na nīhareyya ucchiṭṭhe dakaṇ ca calakaṭṭhikaṃ  
pattena pattahattho vā kapāṭaṃ na ppaṇāmaye
- 9 Bhummi ādhāraḥake dāru daṇḍādāhāresu sajjite  
duve patte ṭhapeyyekaṃ nikkujjivāna bhummiyaṃ
- 10 Dāru rūpiyasovaṇṇa maṇivelūriyāmayā

- kamsakâ ca tipusisaphalikâ tambalohajâ  
 11 Chavasîsamayâ câpi ghaṭitumbakatâhajâ  
 pattâ akappiyâ sabbe vuttâ dukkaṭavattthukâ ti.

*VI. Thâlakâ câti.*

- 1 Kappiyâ thâlakâ tisso tambâyomattikâmayâ  
 dârusovaṇṇarajatamaṇiveḷuriyâmayâ  
 2 Akappâ phalikâkâ ca kamsajâ gîhisantakâ  
 samghikâ kappiyâ tumbaghaṭijâ tâvakâlikâ ti

*VII. Pavâraṇâ ti.*

- 1 Yeniriyâpathenâyam bhuñjamâno pavârîto  
 tato aññena bhuñjeyya pâcitti nâtirittakam  
 2 Asanam bhojanañceva abhihâro samîpatâ  
 kâyavâcâ paṭikkhepo pañcaangâ pavâraṇâ  
 3 Odano sattukummâso maccho maṃsam ca bhojanam  
 sâli vihi yavo kangu kudrûsavaragodhumâ  
 4 Sattannam esam dhaññânam odano bhojjayâgu ca  
 sâmakâdi tiṇam kudrûsakevaraka corako  
 5 Varake sâliyañ ceva nivâro samgaham gato  
 bhaṭṭhadhaññamayo sattu kummâso yavasambhavo  
 6 Maṃso ca kappiyo vutto maccho udakasambhavo  
 bhuñjanto bhojanam kappamakappam vâ nisedhayam  
 7 Vâritobhihaṭam kappam tam nâmena iman ti vâ  
 lâjâ tam sattubhattâni goraso suddhakhajjako  
 8 Taṇḍûlâ bhaṭṭhapîṭhañ ca puthukâ veḷuâdinam  
 bhattam vuttâvasesânam rasayâgurasopi ca  
 9 Suddhayâguphalâdini na janenti pavâraṇam  
 pavârîtena vutṭhâya abhuttana ca bhojanam  
 10 Atirittam na kâtabbam yena yam vâ purekatam  
 kappiyam gahitañ cevuccâritam hatthapâsagam  
 atirittam karontevam alam etam ti bhâsatu  
 11 Na kare 'nupasampannahatthagam pesayitvâpi  
 kâretum labhate sabbo bhuñjitum tam akârako ti

*VIII. Kâlikâ câti.*

- 1 Paṭiggahitvâ cattâro kâlikâ yâvakâlikam  
 yâmakâlikam sattâhakâlikam yâvajîvikam

- 2 Piṭṭhaṃ mûlaṃ phalaṃ khajjaṃ goraso dhaññabhojanam  
yāgu sūpappabhūṭayo hontete yāvakālikā
- 3 Madhumuddikasāluka cocamocambujambujam  
phārusam naggisantattam pānakam yāmakālikam
- 4 Sānulomāni dhaññāni ṭhapetvā phalajo raso  
madhūkapupphā aññatra sabbo puppharaso pi ca
- 5 Sabbapattaraso ceva ṭhapetvā pakkadākajam  
sitodamadditodicca pāko vāyāmakāliko
- 6 Sappi nonītatelāni madhu phāṇitam eva ca  
sattāhakālikā sappi yesam mamsam avāritam
- 7 Telaṃ tilavaseranda madhu sāsapasambhavam  
khuddabhamara madhukari makkhikāhi kataṃ madhu
- 8 Rasādi ucehuvikati pakkāpakkā ca phāṇitam  
savatthu pakkā sāmam vā vassakāle amānusa
- 9 Aññesaṃ na pace vatthum yāvakālikavatthukam  
haliddiṃ singiveraṇ ca vacattham lasunam pacā
- 10 Usiraṃ bhaddamuttaṇ cātivisaṃ kaṭurohiṇi  
pañca mûlādikaṇ cāpi mûlam tam yāvajīvikam
- 11 Viṇṇamāricam goṭhaphalam pippalirājikā  
tiphaleraṇḍakādīnam phalam tam yāvajīvikam
- 12 Kappāsanimbakaṭajapaṭolasulasādīnam  
sūpeyyapaṇṇam vajjetvā paṇṇam tam yāvajīvikam
- 13 Mûlam saram taco pheggu phalam paṇṇam puppham latā  
āhārattham asādhentam sabbam tam yāvajīvikam
- 14 Sabbakālikasambhogo kāle sabbassa kappati  
sati paccaye vikāle kappate kālīkattayam
- 15 Kālasāmamatikkantā pācittiṃ janayantubho  
janayanti ubho pete antovuttaṇ ca sannidhiṃ
- 16 Sattāhakālike satta ahāni atināmite  
pācitti pāḷinārūḷhe sappi-ādimhi dukkaṭam
- 17 Nissatṭham laddham makkheyya nangam najjhoha-  
reyya ca  
vikappentassa sattāhe sāmaṇerassādhiṭṭhato
- 18 Makkhanādiṇ canāpatti aññassa dadato pi ca  
yāvakālika-ādini saṃsatṭhāni sahattana
- 19 Gālāpayanti sabbhāvam tasmā evamudiritam  
pure paṭiggahitāṇ ca sattāham yāvajīvikam
- 20 Sesakālikasammissam pācitti paribhuñjato



- yāvakālikasammissaṃ itaraṃ kālikattayaṃ  
 21 Paṭiggahitaṃ tadahu tadaheva ca bhuñjaye  
 yāmakālikasammissaṃ sesaṃ evaṃ vijāniyaṃ  
 sattāhakālimissaṃ ca sattāhaṃ kappatetaraṃ ti

*IX. Paṭiggaho ti.*

- 1 Dātukāmābhihāro ca hatthapāseraṇakkhamaṃ  
tidhā dente dvidhā gāho pañcangevaṃ paṭiggahc
- 2 Asaṃhāre tattha jāte sukhume ciñca ādinaṃ  
paṇṇe vā sayhabhāre ca paṭiggaho na rūhati
- 3 Sikkhāmarañalingehi anapekkhavisaggato  
acchedānupasampanna dānāgāhopasammatī
- 4 Appaṭiggahitaṃ sabbam pācitti paribhuñjato  
suddhaṃ ca nātibahalaṃ kappate udakaṃ tathā
- 5 Angalaggaṃ avicchinnaṃ dantakkhikapaṇṇagūthakaṃ  
loṇassukhelasinghānaṃ semhamuttakarīsakaṃ
- 6 Gūthamattikamuttāni chārikaṃ ca tathāvidhe  
sāmaṃ gahetvā seveyya asante kappakārake
- 7 Durūpacinṇe rajokinṇe attuggahapaṭiggahe  
antovuṭṭhe antopakke sāmaṃ pakke ca dukkaṭaṃ ti

*X. Maṃsesu ca akappiyaṃ ti.*

- 1 Manussahatthiassānaṃ maṃsaṃ sunakhadīpinaṃ  
sīhabyagghataracchānaṃ acchassa uragassa ca
- 2 Uddissakatamaṃsaṃ ca yaṃ ca appaṭivekkhitaṃ  
thullaccayaṃ manussānaṃ maṃse sesesu dukkaṭaṃ
- 3 Aṭṭhi pi lohitaṃ cammaṃ lomam esaṃ na kappati  
sacittakaṃ va uddissa kataṃ sesaṃ acittakan ti

*XI. Nissaggiyāni ti.*

- 1 Arūpiyaṃ rūpiyena rūpiyaṃ itarena ca  
rūpiyaṃ parivaṭṭeyya nissaggi idha rūpiyaṃ
- 2 Kahāpaṇo sajjhūsingīvoḥārūpagamāsakaṃ  
vatthamuttādi itaraṃ kappam dukkaṭavatthu ca
- 3 Imaṃ gahetvā bhutvāvā imaṃ dehi karānaya  
demi vātisaṃāpanne nissaggikayavikkaye
- 4 Attano aññato lābhaṃ sanghassaññassa vā nataṃ  
parināmeyya nissaggi pācitti cāpi dukkaṭaṃ

- 5 Anissajjitvā nissaggiṃ paribhuñje na deyya vā  
nissatṭhaṃ sakasaññāya dukkaṭaṃ aññathetaran ti

*XII. Pācitti.*

- 1 Musāvādomasāvāde pesuññaharaṇe tathā  
padaso dhammasāgārā ujjhāpanakakhīyane
- 2 Talasatti anādarakukkuccuppādanesu ca  
gāmappavesanāpucchā bhojane ca paramparā
- 3 Anuddharitvā gamane seyyaṃ senāsanāni vā  
itthiyaddhānagamane ekekāyanisīdāne
- 4 Bhimsāpanākoṭana-aññavāde  
vihesaduṭṭhullapakāsacchāde  
hāsodake nicchubhane vihārā  
pācitti vuttānupakhajjasaye ti

*XIII. Samaṇakappā ti.*

- 1 Bhūtagāmasamārambhe pācitti katakappiyaṃ  
nakkena vāggisatthehi bhava samaṇakappiyaṃ
- 2 Samūlakhandhabijaggaphaḷubijappabhāvato  
ārambhe dukkaṭaṃ bijaṃ bhūtagāma viyojitaṃ
- 3 Nibbattabijaṃ no bījamakataṃ cāpi kappati  
kaṭāhabandhabījāni bahiddhā vāpi kārāye
- 4 Ekābaddhesu bījesu bhājane vāpi bhūmiyaṃ  
kate ca kappiyekasmiṃ sabbesveva katam bhava
- 5 Nikkhitte kappiyaṃ katvā mūlapaṇṇāni jārāyaṃ  
kappiyaṃ puna kārēyya bhūtagāmo hi so tadā
- 6 Sapaṇṇo vā apaṇṇo vā sevālodakasambhavo  
ceti yādīsu sevālo nikkhantadvittipattako
- 7 Bhūtagāmo va bījam pi mūlapaṇṇe viniggate  
ghaṭṭādi piṭṭhasevālo makulam ahichattakam
- 8 Dukkaṭasseva vatthūni phullam abyavahārikaṃ  
lākhāniyyāsachattāni allarukkhe vikopiya
- 9 Gaṇhato tattha pācitti chindato vāpi akkharam  
pīletuṃ nālīkerādīṃ dārumakkaṭakādīṃ
- 10 Chindituṃ gaṇḍikaṃ kātuṃ tiṇādīṃ na ca kappati  
bhūtagāmaṃ vā bījaṃ vā chinda bhindocināhi vā
- 11 Phāḷehi vijjhupacavā niyametvā na bhāsaye  
imaṃ karoḥi kappiyaṃ imaṃ gaṇhedam āhara  
imaṃ dehi imaṃ sodhehevaṃ vaṭṭati bhāsituṃ ti.

*XIV. Bhummiyo ti.*

- 1 Sammutussāvanantā ca gonisādi gahappati  
kappiyā bhummiyo yāsu vuttham pakkañ ca kappati
- 2 Vāsathāya kate gehe sanghike vekasantake  
kappiyakuṭi laddhabbā sahaseyyappahonake
- 3 Gehe sanghassa vekassa karamānevam īrayam  
paṭṭhamiṭṭhakathambhādīm ṭhapeyyussāvanantikā
- 4 Kappiyakuṭim karoma kappiyakuṭim karomāti.  
yebhuyyenāparikkhitto ārāmo sakalo pi vā
- 5 Vuccati gonisādīti sammuti sanghasammata  
bhikkhum ṭhapetvā aññehi dinno tesam vasantako
- 6 Atthāya kappakuṭiyā geha gahapatim ato  
akappakuṭiyā vuttha sappiādīhi missitam
- 7 Vajeyya antovutthattam purimam kālīka dvayam  
teneva bhikkhuna pakkam kappate yāvajjivikam
- 8 Nirāmisam va sattāham sāmise sāmāpākaṭā  
ussāvanantikāyehi thambhādīhi adhiṭṭhitā
- 9 Tesu yevāpanītesu tadaññesu pi tiṭṭhati  
bhabbesu apanītesu bhava jāhitaratthukā  
gonisādi parikkhitte sesā chadanavibbhamā ti

*XV. Upajjhāceravattānti.*

- 1 Nissāyupajjhācariye vasamāno supesalo  
dantukaṭṭhāsanam toyam yāgum kāle dade sadā
- 2 Putte vattam care gāmappavese gamanāgame  
āsane pādapīthe ca kāṭhalopāhanacivare
- 3 Bhojanīyapānīyesu vaccappasāvaṭṭhānīsu  
vihārasodhane vattam puna paññāpāne tatnā
- 4 Na pappoṭheyya sodhento paṭivāte ca p' angaṇe  
vihāram bhikkhupāṇiya sāmantā sayanāsanam
- 5 Nāne nātassa kātabbam rangapāke ca dhovane  
sibbane civare theve rajanto na vaje ṭhito.
- 6 Ekaccassa anāpucchā pattam vā civarāni vā  
na dadeyya na gaṇheyya parikkhārañ ca kiñcanam
- 7 Ekaccam pacchato kātum gantum vā kassu pacchato  
piṇḍapātam ca ninnetum niharāpetum attano
- 8 Kiccayam parikkammam vā kesacchedaṇ ca attano  
kārapetum vā kātum vā anāpucchā na vattati

- 9 Gâmaṃ susānanissīmaṃ disaṃ vâ gantum icchato  
attano kiccayaṃ vâpi anâpucchâ na vattati
- 10 Uppannam aratiṃ diṭṭhiṃ kukkuccaṃ vâ vinodaye  
kareyya vâpi ussukkaṃ sanghâyattesu kammesu
- 11 Gilâne ca supatṭheyya vutṭhānaṃ nésam âgame  
vattabhedena sabbattha anâdarena dukkaṭaṇ ti

*XVI. Vaccapassâvathânikan ti.*

- 1 Na kareyya yathâvuddhaṃ vaccaṃ yâthânupubbiyâ  
vaccapassâvakuṭiyo nhânatitthaṃ ca labbhati
- 2 Paviseyyubbhajitvâ no sahasâ paviseyya ca  
ukkâsitvâ vubbhajeyya pâdukâsveva saṇṭhito
- 3 Na kare nitthunaṃ vaccaṃ dantakatṭhaṃ ca khâdayaṃ  
vaccapassâvadoṇinaṃ na kareyyubhayaṃ bahi
- 4 Kûpe katṭhaṃ na pâteyya kheḷaṃ passâvadoṇiyâ  
nâvalekheyya pharuse nûhataṇ câpi dhovaye
- 5 Na nikkhameyya sahasâ vubbhajitvâ na nikkhame  
capu capu nâcameyya uklâpaṇ ca visodhaye ti

*XVII. Âpucchakaraṇan ti.*

- 1 Anajjhittṭho va therena pâṭimokkhaṃ na uddise  
dhammaṃ na kathaye paṇhaṃ na pucche na ca vissaje
- 2 Âpucchitvâ kathentassa punavuddhatârâgame  
puna âpucchanaṃ natthi bhattagge cânumodato
- 3 Vasanto ca anâpucchâ vuḍḍhenekavihârake  
na sajjhâyeyya uddesaṃ paripucchaṃ va no dade
- 4 Dhammaṃ na bhâsaye dîpaṃ na kare na ca vijjhape  
vâtapânaṃ kavâṭaṃ vâ vivareyya thakeyya ca
- 5 Cankame cankamanto pi vuḍḍhe na parivattaye  
yena vuddho sa sanghâti kaṇṇenenam na ghattaye ti

*XVIII. Naggo ti.*

- 1 Naggo maggaṃ vaje bhuñje pive khade na sâyaye  
na gaṇhe na dade neva vande vandâpayeyya vâ
- 2 Parikammaṃ na kâreyya na kare paṭicchâdisu  
parikamme duve vattâchâdî sabbatthakappiyâ ti

*XIX. Nhâna kappo ti.*

- 1 Na ca nhâyeyya therânaṃ purato pari vâ tathâ  
dadeyya otarantânaṃ maggam uttaramânaṃ
- 2 Kuḍḍathambhataruṭṭhâne nhâyamâno na ghaṃsaye  
kāyagandhabbahatthena kuravindakasuttiyâ
- 3 Mallakenaṇṇamaṇṇaṃ vâ sarīrena na ghaṃsaye  
kapālittṭhakakhaṇḍāni vatthavaḍḍhi ca vaṭṭati
- 4 Sabbesaṃ puthupāṇi ca gilânassâkatamallakaṃ  
pāsānaphenaḱaṭṭhalâ kappanti pādaghaṃsane ti

*XX. Avandīyo ti.*

- 1 Ukkhittānūpasampanna nānāsaṃvāsaitthiyo  
navo ca garukaṭṭho ca paṇḍako ca avandiyâ ti

*XXI. Cammaṇ ti.*

- 1 Migâjelakacammāni kappanti paribhuñjitum  
rohitēnipasādâ ca kurungâ migajâtikâ
- 2 Anuṇṇâtattayâ aṇṇaṃ cammaṇ dukkaṭavattṭhakaṃ  
thavikopâhane cammaṇ sabbam kappati mānusaṇ ti

*XXII. Upâhanâ cerâ ti.*

- 1 Majjhadesena kappanti gaṇaṇṇupâhanâ navâ  
sabbassa kappantârāme sabbatthâkallakassa ca
- 2 Sabbanīlakaodâtapītalohitakaṇhakâ  
mahārāṇgamahānāmarāṇgarattâ upâhanâ
- 3 Sabbamañjetṭhikâ citrâ nīlapītādivaddhikâ  
tittirapattikâ meṇḍaajavisāṇavaddhikâ
- 4 Khallabaddhâ puṭabaddhâ tūlapuṇṇâ cupâhanâ  
pālīguṇṭṭhimakâ morapicchena parisibbitâ
- 5 Vicchikālikatâ sīhabyagghuddājīnadvipinam  
majjārakālakolūkacammehi ca parikkhatâ
- 6 Pādukâ sankamaniyâ koci dhāreyya dukkaṭam  
nīlādivaṇṇam sakalam muñcitvāvekadesakam  
upâhanāvalaṇṇeyya hāretvâ khallakādikaṇ ti.

*XXIII. Anolokiyaṇ ti.*

- 1 Sāratto itthiyâ yoniṃ mukhaṃ vâ bhikkhadāyiyâ  
parassa pattam ujjhānasaṇṇī vâ attano mukhaṃ  
ādāsodakapatte vâ olokentassa dukkaṭaṇ ti.

XXIV. *Añjanīti.*

- 1 Vaṭṭatṭhasoḷasaṃsāvāmaṭṭhā vaṭṭati añjanī  
tisso pi mūle gīvāyaṃ lekhā ekāvabandhituṃ
- 2 Yaṃ kiñci rūpaṃ mālādikammaṃ makaradantakaṃ  
gomuttakaddhacandādi vikāraṃ nettha vaṭṭati
- 3 Labbhekavaṇṇasuttena sibbituṃ thavikā tathā  
sipāṭikuñcikā koso salākā pi acittakā
- 4 Sankhanābhivisaṇaṭṭhinaḷadantamayā tathā  
phalakaṭṭhamayā veḷulākhālohamayā pana
- 5 Añjanīyo salākāyo dhūmanettā ca labbhare  
tathā chattakadaṇḍāni natthu dhānā ca taṃmayāti

XXV. *Akappiyasayanānīti.*

- 1 Āsandi tūlipallanko paṭikaṃ gonacittakaṃ  
paṭali vikati uddhalomi ekantalomikā
- 2 Kuttaṃ koseyyaṃ kaṭṭhissaṃ hatthiassarathattharā  
'jinappavenikadalimigappavarā attharā.
- 3 Salohitavitānaññu bhato rattupadhānakaṃ  
akappiyāni etāni dukkaṭaṃ paribhujato
- 4 Āsandādittayā sese labbhate gihisantake  
dhammāsane ca bhattachge ghare vāpi nisīdituṃ
- 5 Bhummattharaṇasankhepe sayituñ cāpi kappati  
caturaṃsapitṭhā sattangā pañcangutṭhapādakā
- 6 Tūlonaddhā ghareyeva mañcapitṭhā nisīdituṃ  
coḷavākunṇapaṇṇānaṃ tiṇānañ ceva pūritā
- 7 Cīvaracchaviyo pañcabhisiyabbatthakappiyā  
tulattayaṃ bhisigabbho lomāni migapakkhinaṃ
- 8 Bimbohane anuññātāṃ tulavajjaṃ masūrake  
manussalomapunṇāyaṃ paṇṇe pupphaṃ tamālakaṃ  
suddhaṃ na āsanañ ceva labbhamappaṭivekkhitaṃ ti.

XXVI. *Samānāsāniko cāti.*

- 1 Tivassantarānuññātāṃ bhikkhūnaṃ ekam āsanaṃ  
sattavassativassehi pañcavasso nisīdituṃ
- 2 Thapetva paṇḍakaṃ itthim ubhatobyāñjanaṃ muni  
dīghāsane anuññāsi sabbeheva nisīdituṃ

- 3 Antaṃ dīghāsaṇaṃ tiṇṇaṃ yaṃ pahoti nisīdituṃ  
mañcake vāpi piṭhe vā dvinnāṃ labbhaṃ nisīdituṃ ti

XXVII. *Asaṃvāsiko cāti.*

- 1 Ukkhitto nūpusampanno bhikkhunicchinnamūlako  
nānāsaṃvāsanissīmaṭṭhitavehāsaṇṭhitā  
ekādasa abhabbā ca asaṃvāsā ti dīpitā ti.

XXVIII. *Kammaṇ cāti*

- 1 Adhammakammaṃ vaggena samaggena adhammikaṃ  
vaggena dhammakammaṇ ca samaggena ca dhammikaṃ  
2 Catutthaṃ yevānuññātaṃ sesakammesu dukkaṭaṃ  
catuvaggo pañcavaggo dasavisativaggiko  
3 'Tirekavisativaggo pañca saṅghā vibhāvitā  
catuvaggo 'ttha abbhānūpasampadappavāraṇā  
4 Pañcavaggo ca abbhānaṃ majjhadesūpasampadam  
dasavaggo ca abbhānaṃ ṭhapetvā sabbakammiko  
5 Itaro sabbakammesu kammappatto 'ti dīpito  
catuvaggena kattaḃbe cattāro pakatattakā  
6 Kammappattāpare chandā rahā sese pyayaṃ nayo  
catuvaggādi kattaḃbaṃ asaṃvāsakammārahā  
7 Garukaṭṭhesvaññātaraṃ katvāna gaṇapūraṇaṃ  
parivāsādikāṃ kammaṃ kataṃ kuppañcadukkaṭaṃ  
8 Adhammakammaṃ vāreyya antarāye duve tayo  
diṭṭhāvim eko 'dhiṭṭhānaṃ vārente 'vatato 'dhikā  
9 Kammārahā asaṃvāsā khittacittaḍukkhaṭṭitā  
etesāṃ saṅghamajjhamhi paṭikkhepo na rūhati  
10 Pakatatte asīmaṭṭhasamayāṃ vāsabhikkhuno  
ārocentassantamaso nantarassābhirūhati  
11 Kopetuṃ dhammikaṃ kammaṃ paṭikoseyya sammukhā  
tirokkhā kāyasāmaggī chandaṃ nodeyya dukkaṭaṃ ti.

XXIX. *Micchājīvarivajjanaṃ ti.*

- 1 Dāruṃ veḷuṃ phalaṃ pupphaṃ cuṇṇaṃ nhānamukho-  
dakaṃ  
mattikā dantakaṭṭhādīṃ na dade kulasangahan  
2 pāribhaṭṭakā tā muggasuppatā vatthuvijjajā

- pahenadûtakammena janghapesaniyena vâ  
 3 Anuppadânappaṭipinḍavejjakammena vâ pana  
 nâññena vâpi sambuddhapaṭikutṭṭhena jivaye  
 4 Viññattinesanâbhûtullapanâkuhanâdhi  
 kuladûsâdinuppannapaccaye parivajjaye ti

XXX. *Vattan ti.*

- 1 Âgantuko na ârâm: m pavise saupâhano  
 sachatto guṇṭhito sise karitvâ vâpi cîvaram  
 2 Pâniyena na dhoveyya pâde vuḍḍhatare pi ca  
 âvâsike bhivâdeyya puccheyya sayanâsanam  
 3 Gamiko paṭisâmetvâ dârumattikabhaṇḍakam  
 vikârañ ca thaketvâna âpucchâ sayanâsanam  
 4 Âpucchitabbe asati sangopetvâna sâdhukam  
 pakkameyya aññathâ tassa pakkantum na ca kappati  
 5 Âvâsiko paññapeyya vuḍḍhâgantussa âsanam  
 upanikkhipe pâdodappabhûtim pattacîvaram  
 6 Paccuggantvâna gaṇheyya pâniyena ca pucchaye  
 âgantuke 'bhivâdeyya paññâpe sayanâsanam  
 7 Âjjhâvuttham avuttham vâ vgocarâ gocaram vade  
 vaccappassâvaṭhânâni katikam sekkhasammutim.  
 8 Pavesanikkhame kâlam paribhojaniyapâniyam  
 nisinnô va navakassa etam sabbam samuddise ti

XXXI. *Vikappanâ cerâ ti.*

- 1 Sammukhâ parammukhâ ti duve vuttâ vikappanâ  
 sammukhâya vikappento byattassekassa santike  
 imam cîvaram tuyham vikappemi ti bhâsaye  
 2 Ettâvatâ nidhetum va kappati na ca kappati  
 paribhogâdikam tena apaccuddhatabhâvato  
 mayham santakam paribhuñja vâ visajjehi vâ yathâ-  
 paccayam vâ karohîti  
 3 Tena paccuddhate yeva paribhogâdi kappati  
 aparâ sammukhâ vekâ bhikkhussekassa santike  
 4 Gahetvâ nâmam ekassa pañcannam sahadhamminam  
 imam cîvaram Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissâya bhikkhuniyâ  
 Tissassa sâmaṇerassa Tissâya sâmaṇeriyâ Tissâya bhikkhamâ-



nāya vikappemi ti vattabbaṃ. tena bhikkhunā Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissāya bhikkhuniyā Tissassa sāmaṇerassa Tissāya sāmaṇeriyā Tissāya bhikkhamānāya santakaṃ paribhuñja vā visajjehi vā yathā paccayaṃ vā karohīti vattabbaṃ.

parammukhā vikappanā ekassantevam īraye

imaṃ cīvaraṃ tuyhaṃ vikappanattāya dammīti tena vattabbo. ko te mitto vā sandiṭṭho vātī. itarena ceva vattabbaṃ Tisso bhikkhu ti vā Tissā vā bhikkhunīti puna tenāhaṃ Tissassa Tissāya vā dammi ti vikappite teneva Tissassa bhikkhuno Tissāya vā bhikkhuniyā santakaṃ paribhuñja vā visajjehi vā yathāpaccayaṃ karohi paccuddharitabbaṃ.

- 5 Dūrasantikattekattabahubhāvaṃ vijāniya  
etam imanti etāni imāni te' ttha yojaye
- 6 Dasāhaṃ māsam ekaṃ vā pañca vā kathinatthate  
pāripūrattham ūnassa paccāsāsati māsakaṃ  
nuppādayati nissaggiṃ nādhitthitaṃ vikappitanti

### XXXII. Nissayo ti.

- 1 Byattassa pañcavassassa natthi nissayakāriyaṃ  
yāvajīvaṃ pi abyatto nissito yeva jīvati
- 2 Ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā paggaṇhitvāna añjalim  
ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā vade yāvatatīyakaṃ  
ācariyo me bhante hohi āyasmato nissāya vacchāmi ti
- 3 Pakkante pakkhasankante vibbhante cāpi nissayo  
maraṇānattupajjhāya samodhānehi sammati
- 4 Nissāya na vase laggim apubbaṃ tñānam āgato  
āgame catupañcāhaṃ ñātum bhikkhusabhāgataṃ
- 5 Addhikassa gilānassa gilānupaṭṭhākassa ca  
yācitassa araṇṇevā sallakkhenta phāsukaṃ  
sabhāge dāyake sante vasitum tāva labbhatīti

### XXXIII. Kāyabandhanan ti.

- 1 Akāyabandhano gāmaṃ dukkaṭaṃ paviseyya ce  
bandheyya yattha sarati tatthevāsatiyā gato

- 2 Paṭṭikā sūkarantanti duvidham kāyabandhanam  
dussapaṭṭo ca rajju ca etā tadanulomikā
- 3 Macchakaṇṭakakhajjūripattā maṭṭhā ca paṭṭikā  
labbhā dasā catasso pi ante diguṇasuttakam
- 4 Mālādim kakkatacchādim dassetvā guṇasuttakam  
koṭṭitā kuṇjaracchādim vaṭṭikā na ca kappati
- 5 Ghatakam makaramukhādim na kappanti dasāmukhe  
labhante ghatakā lekḥā vidhe aññāṇā ca cittakam
- 6 Deḍḍubhakaṇ ca muraḍam maddavinam kalābukaṇ  
na kappanti dasāsu dve majjhimā yeva kappare
- 7 Veḷudantavisāṇaṭṭhi kaṭṭhalākhā phalāmayā  
sankhaṇābhimayā suttam naḷalohamayā pi ca  
vidhā kappanti kappiyā gaṇṭhiyo cāpi taṃmayāti

PAṬHAMA-BHĀNAVĀRAM NIṬṬHITAM.

XXXIV. *Paṭhavi cāti.*

- 1 Jātājātā ti duvidhā suddhamattikapamsukā  
jātā daḍḍhā ca paṭhavi bahumattikapamsukā
- 2 Cātumāsādikovaṭṭhapamsumattikarāsi ca  
suddhasakkharapāsāṇamarumbakataavālukā
- 3 Daḍḍhā ca bhummi yebhuyya sakkharādi mahi pi ca  
dutiyaṃ vuttarāsi ca cātumāsomavaṭṭhako
- 4 Dve bhāgā tisu bhāgesu mattikā yassa bhummiyā  
yebhūyya mattikā esā sesesu pi ayaṃ nayo
- 5 Pācitti khaṇane jāte jātasaññissa dukkaṭaṃ  
dveḷhassājātasaññissa nāpattāṇāpane tathā
- 6 Pahāre pahārāpatti khaṇamānassa attanā  
ekāyānattiyā ekā nānānattisu vācaso
- 7 Imam ṭhānam imam kandaṃ idha vāpim khaṇettha ca  
jālebhaggin ti vā vatthum niyamevāna vaṭṭati
- 8 Thambhassimassa āvāṭam mattikam jānamāhara  
karoḥi kappiyaṇ ceti vacanam vaṭṭatedisaṃ
- 9 Asambaddham pathaviyā sukkhakaddamaādikaṃ  
kopetum tanukam labbhamussiṇ ca niyakaddamaṃ
- 10 Gaṇḍuppādam upacikā mattikamūsikukkuram  
cātumāsādhikovaṭṭham leḍḍādāṇ ca na kopaye

- 11 Patitevāpi ādinam kule udakasantike  
pāsāne ca raje lagge patitena va soṇḍiyā
- 12 Vammike mattikā kuḍḍe abbhokāsutṭhite tathā  
yebhuyyakathalatṭhāne tiṭṭhatitṭhakakuttako
- 13 Thambhādiṃ gaṇhituṃ bhūmiṃ saṃcāletvā vikopayaṃ  
dhārāya bhindituṃ bhūmiṃ kātuṃ vā visamaṃ samaṃ
- 14 Sammajjanīhi ghaṃsituṃ kaṇṭakādiṃ pavesituṃ  
dassessāmīti bhindanto bhūmiṃ cankamituṃ padaṃ
- 15 Ghaṃsituṃ angapaccangam kaṇḍurogītaṭṭhisu  
hatthaṃ vā dhovituṃ bhummiṃ ghaṃsituṃ na ca kappati
- 16 Thambhādiṃ ujukuddhāro pāsānādipavaṭṭanaṃ  
sākhādikaḍḍhanaṃ rukkhalaṭṭhachedanaphāḷanaṃ
- 17 Sekopassāvaādinam suddhacittassa vaṭṭati  
allahatthaṃ ṭhapetvāna rajaggāho ca bhūmiyā
- 18 Aggissa anupādāne kapāle itṭhakāya vā  
pātetuṃ labbhate aggiṃ bhūmiyaṃ vāvasesatī ti

XXXV. *Parikkhāro ti.*

- 1 Pañcavaṇṇehi suttehi anto bahi ca sibbituṃ  
girikūṭaḍḍhacandādiṃ chatte paṇṇe ca chindituṃ
- 2 Ghaṭakam vālarūpaṃ vā daṇḍe lekhā na vaṭṭati  
vaṭṭati daṇḍabundamhi ahichattakasādisaṃ
- 3 Sibbituṃ ekavaṇṇena pañjaraṃ vā vinandhituṃ  
tirattaṃ vaṭṭati chatte daṇḍe lekhāvabandhituṃ
- 4 Ante paṭṭamukhe vāpi veṇisankhalikā pi vā  
sūcivikāram aññaṃ vā cīvarena ca kappati
- 5 Kappabinduvikāram vā pālīkannīkaādikam  
gaṇṭhipāsakapaṭṭāpi catukonā va agghiyaṃ
- 6 Muggaro kakkatacchādi vikāram nettha vaṭṭati  
koṇasuttā ca piḷakā duviññeyyāvakappare
- 7 Gandham telaṃ vā lākham vā rajanena ca pakkhipe  
rattaṃ sankhena maṇinā ghaṭṭeyyaññaṃ vā na ca
- 8 Ghaṃseyya doṇiyaṃ katvā pahārena ca muṭṭhinā  
kaṇṇakoṇakasuttāni ratte chindeyya cīvare
- 9 Lekhā na vaṭṭati dhammakaraṇe chattavaḍḍiyaṃ  
lekham ṭhapetvā maṇikā piḷakā kuñcīkāya ca
- 12 Pippale ca paricchedalekhā daṇḍamhi vaṭṭati

- mālādyaraniyaṃ pattamaṇḍale bhittikammaṃ ca  
 13 Heṭṭhā lekhā dvayaṃ uddham ahichattakasādisaṃ  
 hitvā kattarayaṭṭhimhi sūcisaṇḍāsake pi ca  
 14 Yaṃ kiñci girikūṭādi vaṇṇamaṭṭhaṃ na vaṭṭati  
 bimbohanamhi sīmañca piṭṭhādisayanāsane  
 15 Sammuñjanimhi sankārachaddane rangabhājane  
 pāṇiyabhājane pādapiṭṭhe kathalikāya ca  
 16 Pattādhārapidhānesu tālavaṇṇe ca bijane  
 yaṃ kiñci mālākammādi vaṇṇamaṭṭhamavāritaṃ  
 17 Senāsane pana dvārakavātādiṭṭhāpabbhedane  
 sovaṇṇamayāṃ 'nuññātaṃ vaṇṇamaṭṭhamhi kā kathā  
 18 Visāpanālilābhādiṭṭhāpabbhede telabhājane  
 pumitthirūparahitaṃ vaṇṇamaṭṭhamavāritaṃ ti

### XXXVI. Bhesajjan ti.

- 1 Janassa kātuṃ bhesajjaṃ dātuṃ vatthuṃ na labbhati  
 bhikkhācāriyaviññatti sakehi sahadhammiṇaṃ  
 2 Pitunaṃ tadupaṭṭhākaṃ bhikkhunissitabhaṇḍunaṃ  
 labbhaṃ bhesajjakaraṇaṃ veyyāvaccakarassa ca  
 3 Mahācūlapitāmātābhātābhaginiñādināṃ  
 tesāṃ sakenattaniye dātabbaṃ tāvakālikaṃ  
 4 Kuladūsanaviññattibhesajjakaraṇādihi  
 mātāpitūhi sambandhañātakesu na rūhati  
 5 Piṇḍapāto anāmatṭho mātādināṃ avārito  
 channaṃ dāmaricorassa dātuṃ issariyassa ca  
 6 Tesāṃ suddakeheva parittaṃ karenattano  
 bhaṇitabbaṃ bhaṇāpente parittaṃ sāsānogaḍhaṃ  
 7 Sīlaṃ dhammaṃ parittaṃ vā āgantvā detu bhāsatu  
 dātuṃ vatthuṃ ca labbhati gantvā kenaci pesito ti

### XXXVII. Uggaho ti.

- 1 Kammacetiyasaṃghaṇṇapuggalatthaṃ gaṇassa ca  
 dasabhedāṃ pi ratanaṃ uggaṇhantassa dukkaṭaṃ  
 2 Nissaggitesu attatthaṃ dvisu sesesu dukkaṭaṃ  
 anāmasitvā vutte tu gaṇasaṃghaṇṇapuggalaṃ  
 3 Cetiyaṃ navakammassa dammīti na paṭikkhiṇe  
 vade kappiyakārānaṃ vadantevaṃ ime iti

- 4 Khettaṃ vatthum taḷākam vā dente dāsapasvādikam  
paṭikkhipitvā gaṇheyya kappiyena kamena ca
- 5 Khetṭādini vihārassa vutte dammīti vaṭṭati  
navamātikakedāratalākakiriyā nave
- 6 Mattikuddharaṇam bandho thirakāro ca āḷiyā  
atirekabhāgādānam kedāre anave nave
- 7 Aparicchinnabhāge ca sassede 'thettake iti  
kahāpaṇuttḥāpanaṃ ca sabbesam pi akappiyam
- 8 Avatvā kasavapiccā dettakāya ca bhūmiyā  
paṭitṭhāpeti bhūmiṃ vā bhāgo deyyo ti etthako
- 9 Bhūmibāge kaṭam sassam etthake gaṇhathethakam  
gaṇhanattham vadantevam paṇānam daṇḍarajjūhi
- 10 Minane rakkhaṇe ṭhatvā khaletam niharāpane  
koṭṭhādipaṭisāmane tassevetamakappiyam
- 11 Paṭisāmeyya pācitti yaṃ kiñci gihisantakam  
bhaṇḍāgārikasīsenā same pi pitusantakam
- 12 Pitūnam kappiyam vatthum avassam paṭisāmiyam  
attano santakam katvā labbhate paṭisāmitum
- 13 Dehīti paṭisāmetvā vutte cāpi paṭikkhipe  
pātetvānagate labbham palibodho ti gopitum
- 14 Kammaṃ karontā ārāme sakam vadḍhakiādāyo  
parikkhāraṃ ca sayanabhaṇḍam vā rājavallabhā
- 15 Dehīti paṭisāmetvā vadanti yadi chandaso  
na kareyya bhayāṭṭhānam guttaṃ dassetum vaṭṭati
- 16 Balakkārena pātetvā gatesu paṭisāmitum  
bhikkhumanussāsankanti naṭṭhe vatthumhi tādise
- 17 Vihārā vasathassanto ratanam ratanasammatam  
nikkhipeyya gaḥetvāna magge 'raññe pi tādise  
sāmikānāgamam ūatvā paṭirūpaṃ karissatīti

## XXXVIII. Dūsanān ti.

- 1 Pupphaṃ velum phalaṃ cuṇṇam dantakaṭṭhaṃ ca  
mattikam  
saṅgahaṇattham dadato kuladūsanadukkaṭam
- 2 Tbullaccayam garubhaṇḍam issarenettha saṃghikam  
dentassa dukkaṭādini theyyāsanghassa santakam
- 3 Kulasaṅgahāropetum ropāpetum ca sabbaṭhā

- phalapupphupagam rukkham jaggituñ ca na vaṭṭati  
 4 Nimittobhāsato kappavohāraparisāyato  
 attano paribhogattham ropāpanādi labbhati  
 5 Vuttā va vejjikā janghapesane gīhikammesu  
 ṭhapetvā pitaro bhaṇḍum veyyāvaccakaram sakam  
 6 Dukkaṭam padavārena haraṇe dūtasāsanam  
 sāsanam agahetvāpi paṭhamam vadato puna  
 7 Uppannapaccayā evam pañcannam pi akappiyā  
 abhūtā rocanā rūpasamvohāruggahā disā  
 8 Harāpetvā haritvāpi pitūnam sesaññātinam  
 pattānam vatthupūjattham dātum pupphāni labbhati  
 9 Maṇḍanatthañ ca liṅgādipūjatthañ ca na labbhati  
 tathā phalam gilānānam sampattissariyassa ca  
 10 Paribbayavihinānam dātum sapaṇasantakam  
 bhājente phalapupphamhi deyyam pattassa kassaci  
 11 Sammatenāpaloketvā dātabbam itarena tu  
 vihāre vā paricchijja katvāna katikam tato  
 12 Deyyam yathā paricchedam gilānassetarassa vā  
 yācamānassa katikam katarukkhāvadassiyā  
 13 Sirīsakasāvādinam cuṇṇe sese ca nicchayo  
 yathāvuttanayo eva paṇṇam ettha pavesaye ti.

*XXXIX. Vassupanāyikā cerā ti.*

- 1 Purimikā pacchimikā duve vassūpanāyikā  
 tathālayapariggāho vacībhedo ca īdiso  
 imasmim vihāre imam temāsam vassam upemi  
 2 Idha vassam upemīti cittuppādettha ālayo  
 nopetukāmo āvāsam tadahu 'tikkameyya vā  
 3 Bhaveyya dukkatāpatti jānam vānupagacchato  
 dutiyam upagaccheyya chinnavasso 'nupāgato  
 4 Na pakkameyya temāsam avasitvāna cārikam  
 mātāpitūnam atthāya pañcannam sahadhamminam  
 5 Gilānatadupaṭṭhākabhaddam esissam osadham  
 pucchissāmi upaṭṭhissam gantvānābhīratim aham  
 6 Vūpakāsissam kukkucam diṭṭhim garukam ādikam  
 karissam vāpi kāressam vinodanam vivecanam  
 7 Vuṭṭhānam vāpi ussukkam gantum iccevamādinā

- labbham sattâhakiccena pahitâpahite pi ca  
 8 Saṃghakamme vaje dhammasavanattham nimantito  
 Garûhi pahito vâpi garûnam vâpi passitum  
 9 Na bhaṇḍadhovanuddesañâtupatthâkadussane  
 labbham na pâpuṇeyyajje vâyamissanti dûrato  
 10 Sesañâtîhi pesite bhikkhunissitakena ca  
 upâsakopâsikâhi niddisitvâna pesite  
 11 Vassacchede anâpatti antarâye satattano  
 saṃghasâmaggiyâvâno chinnavasso pavârâye  
 12 Ajjhokâse ca rukkhassa susire viṭape pi vâ  
 chavakuṭichattacâṭisûpagantum na vaṭṭati  
 13 Asenâsanikenâpi upagantum na labbhati  
 pavâretuñ ca labbhati nâvâsatthavajûpago ti

*XL. Areebhangiyān ti.*

- 1 Arâmârâmavattthûni vihâro tassa vatthu ca  
 mañco pîtham bhisî bimbohanâdisayanâsanam  
 2 lohakumbhî katâho ca lohabhâṇakavârako  
 kuṭhâri vâsi pharasu kuddâlo ca nikhâdanam  
 3 Valli velu tiṇam paṇṇam muñjapabbajamattikâ  
 dârumattikabhaṇḍâni pañcete avibhâjjiyâ  
 4 Thullaccayam bhâjayato bhâjitâpi abhâjitâ  
 garubhaṇḍâni vuccanti ete 'vissajjiyâni ca  
 5 Valliddhabâhumattâpi velu atthangulâ yato  
 tiṇâdimuṭṭhimattampi paṇṇam ekam pi mattikâ  
 6 Pakatâ pañcavaṇṇâ vâ sudhâ kankuṭṭhaâdikâ  
 tâlapattappamâṇâpi dinnâ vâ tattha jâtakâ  
 7 Rakkhita saṃghikâ rajjusottâdi pi abhâjjiyâ  
 niṭṭhite bhâjjiyâ kamme saṃghike cetiyassa vâ  
 8 Pattâdi bhikkhusârupam tathâ vippakatâkatam  
 bhâjiyam lohabhaṇḍesu vârakam pâdagaṇhakaṃ  
 9 Velumhi bhâjjiyâ telanâlîkattaradaṇḍako  
 chattadaṇḍasâlakâyo tathopâhanadaṇḍako  
 10 Anuñâtavâsidaṇḍo karaṇḍo pâdagaṇhako  
 araṇaṇ ca nisingâdi bhikkhûpakaraṇam tathâ  
 11 Tacchitvâ niṭṭhitam dârubhaṇḍan dantañ  
 bhikkhûpakarane pâdaghaṭako mattikâma

- 12 Bhâjijam kappiyam cammam elacammam abhâjijam  
garuṇâgarubhaṇḍaṇi ca thâvaran thâvarena ca  
13 Thâvaram parivaṭṭeyya tathâ katvâ ca bhuñjitum  
vallâdiphâtikammena gaṇhe sesamabhâjijan ti

*XLI. Pakiṇṇakan ti.*

- 1 Sadvârabandhane thâne sodukkhalakapâsake  
sayantena divâ dvâram bandheyya parivaṭṭakam  
2 Sante viññumhi purise âbhogo câpi kappati  
savasetam vinâkâram sayanto dukkaṭam phuse  
3 Ratanânitthirûpâni dhaññam itthipasâdanam  
turiyâvudhabhaṇḍâni âmasantassa dukkaṭam  
4 Sittatelodatelehi phaṇahattaphaṇehi vâ  
kocchena vâpi yo kese osañheyy'assa dukkaṭam  
5 Nekapâvuraṇâ ekattharaṇâ vâ tuvaṭṭeyyum  
tathekamañce bhuñjeyyum ekasmim vâpi bhâjane  
6 Caturangulato ūnam adhikaṭṭhangulan tathâ  
dantakaṭṭham na khâdeyya lasuṇam na akallako  
7 Hinukkaṭṭhehi ukkaṭṭham hīnam vâ jâtiâdīhi  
ujum vaññapadesena vade dubbhâsitaṃ davâ  
8 Dīge nakhe ca kese ca nâsalome na dhârāye  
na labbham vīsatimaṭṭam sambâdhe lomahâraṇam  
9 Yathâvuddham na bādheyya saṅghuddiṭṭham va saṅ-  
ghikam  
adhotaallapâdehi nakkame sayanâsanam  
10 Sudhotapâdakaṃ vâpi tatheva saupâhano  
saṅghâṭiyâ na pallatthe bhittâdim na apassaye  
11 Parikammakataṃ sante uḍake no na âcame  
akappiyasamâdâne davâ sīlâpavijjhane  
12 Desanâya sabhâgâya âvikamme ca dukkaṭam  
paṭissavavisamvâde suddhacittassa dukkaṭam  
13 Paṭissavakkhaṇe eva pâcitti itarassa ca  
na rukkhama abhirûheyya sati kicceva porisaṃ  
14 Âpadâsu yathâ kâmaṃ kappati abhirûhitum  
vinaddhânam vajantassa dukkaṭam parissâvanam  
15 Yâcamânassa addhâne adadantassa dukkaṭam  
thullaṭṭayam phuse aṅgajâtacchedena dukkaṭam



- 16 Âbâdhapaccayaññatra sesaṅge attaghâtane  
cittapotthakarûpâni na kare na ca kârâye
- 17 Na vuṭṭhâpeyya bhuñjantam ârâmaññagehesu  
yânâni pumayuttâni sivikaṃ hatthavaṭṭakaṃ
- 18 Pâṭangim ca gilânassa kappate abhirûhitum  
buddhaṃ dhammañ ca saṅghañ ca ârabba karaṇe  
davaṃ
- 19 Dukkaṭaṃ parisam vâpi aññassa upalâlâne  
kâyaṃ ûruṃ nimittaṃ vâ bhikkhuninaṃ na dâssaye
- 20 Vivaritvâ na siñceyya tâ kaddamudakâdinâ  
agaṇhato ca ovâdaṃ na paccâharato pi ca
- 21 Bâlaṃ gilânaṃ gamikaṃ vajjayitvâna dukkaṭaṃ  
lokâyataṃ na vâceyya palitaṃ na ca gâhaye
- 22 Pelâya pi na bhuñjeyya na kîle kiñci kîlitaṃ  
pârupe na nivâseyya ghibipârupanaṃ nivâ
- 23 Sanaṃ kare samvelliyaṃ dâyaṃ âlimpayeyya vâ  
vaḍḍhim payojaye yâce no ñâtakapavârîte
- 24 Attano paribhogatthaṃ dinnam aññassa no dade  
aggam gahetvâ bhûtivâ katipâhaṃ puno dade
- 25 Uddissayâcane rakkhaṃ ñatvâ ñatvâ va daṇḍinaṃ  
gîvâssa daṇḍite daṇḍo svayaṃ daṇḍâpane pana
- 26 Daṇḍassa agghabhedena ñeyyâ pârajikâdikâ  
harantesu parikkhâraṃ coro coro ti bhâsite
- 27 Anattâya sungaṇhanto daṇḍaṃ gîvassatattakaṃ  
vighâsucciârasaṅkâraṃ muttaṃ chadḍeyya dukkaṭaṃ
- 28 Bahi pâkâra kuḍḍânaṃ vaḷaṇje nâvalokiya  
harite vâpi pihâdi naḷikerâdiropime
- 29 Yoḷâpetum payojetum payuttâni ca passitum  
na labbhaṃ dhammayuttam pi naccam gîtaṃ ca vâḍitaṃ
- 30 Upahâraṃ karomâti rutte vâ sampaṭicchitum  
râjâgâraṃ pokkharâṇim uyyânaṃ cittâgâraṃ
- 31 Kîluttam gacchato datṭhum ârâmaṃ dukkaṭaṃ kataṃ  
nave na paṭibâheyyâsanenuṇhena cîvaraṃ
- 32 Nidaheyya khamâpeyya garuṇâ ca paṇâmito  
akkosane parammukhâ âpatṭihi ca sattahi
- 33 Bhikkhum upâsakaṃ vâpi aññeneva ca dukkaṭaṃ  
na labbhaṃ vinipâtetum sadâdeyyaṃ ca cîvaraṃ
- 34 Labbhaṃ pitûnaṃ sesânaṃ ñâtinaṃ pi na labbhati

- vassam vuttho'ññato'ññatra bhâgam gaṇheyya dukkatam  
 35 Paṭideyya natthe jīṇe gīvā nodeyya codito  
 dhuranikkhepato tesam hoti bhaṇḍagghakâriyo  
 36 Na santaruttaro gâmaṃ kallo vâ saupâhano  
 paviseyya na dhâreyya câmarikaṃ ca bījanim  
 37 Agilâno na chindeyya kese kattariyâ bahi  
 ârâmato no dhâreyya chattam labbhati guttiyâ  
 38 Vaheyya 'nubhatokâjam ekantarikakâjakam  
 sîsakkhandhakaṭi bhâro hatthalambo ca labbhati  
 39 Âpattiyâ anokâsakatam codeyya dukkatam  
 suddhassa ca avatthusmim tathâ okâsakâraṇe  
 40 Atṭhangulâdhikammaṃ ca paṭipâdam na dhârâye  
 pakatangulâsattânam mañcam vâ uccapâdakam  
 41 Mûgabbatâdim gaṇheyya dukkatam titthiyabbatam  
 khurabhaṇḍam parihare tathâ nhâpitapubbako  
 42 Yam kiñci yâcitum hatthakammaṃ tadanusârato  
 laddham gahetum nikkhammam ayâcitvâ pi kappati  
 43 Kâretum âharâpetum yam kiñci parasantakam  
 gihînam gopake dente gahetum deti yuttakam  
 44 Laddham yathâ paricchedam sanghacetiyaśantakam  
 dvihâpajjeyya âpattim kâyavâcâhi vâ chahi  
 45 Alajjijñânakukkucapakatattâsatiplavâ  
 akappiye vâ kappiye kappâkappiṇyaññitâ  
 46 Alajjijñânatâpattim kâyavâcâhi châdaye  
 linge saṅghe gaṇekasmim catudhâpattivutṭhiti  
 47 Parikathobbâsaññatti na labbhâ paccayadvaye  
 viññatti yeva tatiye sese sabbam pi labbhati  
 48 Na rûhataccaye dânam pañcannam sahadhamminam  
 saṅghasseva ca tam hoti gihînam pana rûhati  
 49 Bhikkhu vâ sâmanero vâ mareyyum yadûpassaye  
 bhikkhusaṅgho vâ dâyajjo tattha sese pyayam nayo  
 50 Purimassevimam dinnam dehi netvâsukassa ca  
 pacchimasseva dammiti dinnam ñatvâ imam vidhim  
 51 Gaṇhe vissâsagâlam vâ 'dhiṭṭhe matakacivaram  
 lohahhaṇḍe paharaṇim dârubhaṇḍe ca dârujam  
 52 Pattam pâdukapallankam âsandim mattikâmâye  
 tṭhapetvâ kappati sabbam kaṭakam kumbhukârikan ti



me bhante suddhakâlakânam elakalomânam santhatam kârâ-pitam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante santhatam anâdiyivâ tulam odâtânam tulam gocariyânam kârâpitam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante santhatam ûnachabbassâni kârâpitam aûñatra bhikkhusammutiyâ nissaggiyam. idam me bhante nisîdanasanthatam anâdiyivâ purâṇasanthatassa sâmantâsugatavidatthim kârâpitanissaggiyam. imâni me bhante elakalomâni tiyojanaparamam atikkamitâni nissaggiyâni. imâni me bhante elakalomâni aûñâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ dhovâpitâni nissaggiyâni. aham bhante rūpiyam paṭiggahesim. idam me bhante nissaggiyam, imâham sanghassa nissajjâmîti. aham bhante nânappakârakam rūpiyasamvohâram samâpajjim. idam me bhante nissaggiyam, imâham sanghassa nissajjâmîti.

- 4 Nissajjitvâna âpattim deseyyâtha gihiṃ vade jânâhiman ti iminâ so vadeyyâharâmi kiṃ
- 5 Avatvâ 'mantitelâdim vade bhikkhûnam kappiyam yam âharati so tena parivaṭṭetvâ kappiyam
- 6 Labbham ṭhapetvâ dve pete sabbehi paribhuñjitum tato aûñena laddho pi bhâgo tesam na kappati
- 7 Rukkachâyâ pyantamaso tam nibbattâ na kappati nisattham paṭiladdhampi âdito santatattayam
- 8 No ce labbhettha evam so imam chaddehi saṃsiyo evam pi bhikkhu chaddeyya no ce labbhettha sammato
- 9 Etâni dutiyam pattam sanghe sesâni labbhare sanghekasmim gaṇe vatthum labbham bhâsantarena pi

aham bhante nânappakârakam kayavikkayam samâpajjim. idam me bhante nissaggiyam, ayam me bhante patto dasâhâtikkanto nissaggiyo, ayam me bhante patto ûnapaṇca bandhanena pattena cetâpito nissaggiyo. imâham sanghassa nissajjâmi.

- 10 Nissajjitvâna deseyya âpattim pattaggâhakam sammâññitvâna sanghassa pattantam tassa dâpaye

idam me bhante bhesajjam sattâhâtikkantam nissaggiyam idam me bhante vassikasâtîkacivaram atirekamâse sese gimhâne pariyittham. atirekadhamâse sese gimhâne katvâ

paridahitam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante cīvaram bhikkhussa sāmam datvā puna acchinnam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante cīvaram sāmam suttaṃ viññāpetvā tantavāyehi vāyāpitaṃ nissaggiyam. idam me bhante cīvaram pubbe apavāritassa aññātakassa gahapatikassa tantavāye upasankamitvā vikappam āpannam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante accekacīvaram samayam atikkāmitam nissaggiyam. idam me bhante cīvaram atirekcharattam vippavuttham aññatra bhikkhusammutiyā nissaggiyam. idam me bhante jānam sanghikaṃ lābham attano parināmitam nissaggiyam, imāham āyasmato nissajjāmīti.

### 11 Sesam sabbam yathāyogam ādimhi vippayojāye

aham bhante ekaṃ pācittiyāpattim āpajjīm. dve sambahulā pācittiyāpattiyo āpajjīm. gārayham me bhante dhammam āpajjīm asappāyam pāṭidesaniyam. tam pāṭidesemīti. tena passasi āvuso tam dhamman ti vattabham. aham bhante ekaṃ dukkaṭāpattim āpajjīm, dve, sambahulā dukkaṭāpattiyo āpajjīm. aham bhante ekaṃ dubbhāsītāpattim āpajjīm, dve, sambahulā dubbhāsītāpattiyo āpajjīm. tā tumha mūle pāṭidesemīti. aham bhante dve nānāvattukā thullaccayāpattiyo āpajjīm, sambahulā nānāvattukā thullaccayāpattiyo āpajjīm. tā tumha mūle pāṭidesemīti vatvā. tena passasi āvuso tā āpattiyo ti vutte. āma bhante passāmīti vatvā. puna tena āyatim āvuso samvareyyāsīti vutte. sādhu sutṭhu bhante samvarissāmīti vattabham.

### 12 Adesanāgāminiyam anāpatti ca desitam

nānāsaṃvāsā nissīmaṭhitānaṃ catupaṇṇicāhi

manasā pakatattānaṃ nānekā 'ti na desayeti

### XLIII. Chandadānādīti.

- 1 Bherim ghaṇḍim patāletvā kamma patte samāgate sanghe hareyya chandam vā pārisuddhim pavāraṇam
- 2 Ekaṃ bhikkhum upāgamaṃ nisīditvā ukkuṭikam añjalim paggaṇhitvāna dade chandam vicakkhaṇo

chandam dammi. chandam me hara. chandam me ārocekīti vattabham. pārisuddhim dentena. pārisuddhim

dammi. pârisuddhim me hara. pârisuddhim me ârocehîti  
vattabbam.

- 3 Pârisuddhim padânenâ sampâdeti uposatham  
saṅghassa attano cāpi sesakammam vibâdhati
- 4 Chandadânenâ saṅghassa dvayam sâdheti nattano  
tasmâ chandam dadantena dâtabbâ pârisuddhipi
- 5 Hareyyeko bahûnam pi paramparâ na hârâye  
paramparâhatâ chandapârisuddhi na gacchati  
sabbûpacâram katvâna evam deyyâ pavâraṇâ

pavâraṇam dammi. pavâraṇam me hara. pavâraṇam me  
ârocehi. mamatthâya pavârehîti.

- 6 Ârocetvâ 'tha so sangham pavâreyyevam âgato

itthamnâmo bhante sangham pavâreti diṭṭhena vâ sutena  
vâ parisankhâya vâ. vadatu tam sangho anukampam upâdâya.  
passanto patikarissatîti.

7. Gahetvâ pârisuddhim vâ chandam vâpi pavâraṇam  
hârako sangham appatvâ vibbhameyya mareyya vâ
- 8 Sâmānerâdibhâvam vâ paṭijāneyya nâhatâ  
patvâ sangham tathāheyya âhatâ hoti hârako
- 9 Sanghapatto pamatto vâ sutto nârocayeyya vâ  
anâpatti va sañcicca nârocentassa dukkaṭanti

#### *XLIV. Uposatho ti.*

- 1 Duve uposathâ cātuddaso pannaraso iti  
suttuddesamadhittānapârisuddhi vasâ tayo
- 2 Suttuddeso va sanghassa adhitthānauposatho  
puggalasseva sesānam pârisuddhiuposatho
- 3 Pubbakicce ca karaṇe pattakalle sammānite  
suttam uddisati sangho pañcadhâ so vibhâvito
- 4 Vinantarāyam sankhepenuddeso vinivârîto  
thero va issaro dvîsu uddese vettha tîsu vâ
- 5 Visadesû ti vuttattâ avattante pi vaṭṭati  
âgaccheyyum yadi samâ uddisanteva thokikâ
- 6 Uddittamam yam suuddittam sotabbam avasesakam  
uddittamatte sakalâyekaccâyutthitâya vâ

- 7 Pârisuddhiṃ kareyyesaṃ santike bahukâtha ce  
katvâ sabbavikkappesu pubbakiccaṃ punuddise  
8 Pannaraso vâsikânam itarânam sacetaro  
samânetare 'nuvattantu purimânam sace 'dhikâ  
9 Purimâ anuvattantu tesam sese pyayam nayo  
pâtipadovâsikânam itarânam uposatho  
10 Samathokânam sâmaggim mûlatthâ dentu kâmato  
bahi gantvâna kâtabbo no ce denti uposatho  
11 Deyyâ nicchâyasâmaggim bahûsu bahi vâ vaje  
pâtipado gantukânam evameva ayam nayo  
12 Sâveyya suttaṃ sañcicca asâventassa dukkaṭaṃ  
sammajjitum padipetum paññâpetum dakâsanam  
13 Na kareyya tathâ kâllo mahâtherena pesito  
sammajjitvâ padipetvâ paṭhâpetvâ dakâsanam  
14 Gaṇaṇattim ṭhapetvevaṃ kattabbo tihuposatho  
suṇantu me âyasmanto. ajjuposatho pannaraso. yadâ-  
yasmanatânam pattakallaṃ mayamaññaṃ pârisuddhiuposathaṃ  
kareyyâmâti.

ekamsaṃ oṭvaram katvâ nisîditvâ ukkuṭikaṃ  
15 Therena añjalim tvevaṃ paggayha samudîriyâ  
parisuddho aham âvuso parisuddho 'ti maṃ dhârethâti vade  
yâvatatīyakam.

samattapubbârambhena tena yenevaṃ îriyâ  
parisuddho aham âvuso parisuddhoti maṃ dhârehîti  
tikkhattum vattabbo.

dvîsu therena kattabbam katvevamîriyo navo  
parisuddho aham âvuso parisuddho ti maṃ dhârehîti  
tikkhattum vattabbo.

16 Navena thero tikkhattum evam assa udîriyo  
parisuddho aham bhante parisuddho ti maṃ dhârehîti  
pubbakiccaṃ sampâdetvâ adhiṭṭheyyevaṃ ekato  
ajja me uposatho paṇṇaraso ti vâ cātuddaso ti vâ adhiṭ-  
thâmîti

ti vattabbam no ce adhiṭṭheyya dukkaṭaṃ  
17 Yattha vâ santi cattâro tayo vâ yadi vâ duve  
pârisuddhiṃ haritvâna ekekassitarîtare

- 18 Tam tam uposatham kayirum siyā āpatti dukkaṭam  
vagge samagge vaggo ti saññino vimatissa vā  
19 Dukkaṭam karoto bhedādhippāyena thullaccayam  
vagge samaggenāpatti samaggo itisaññino  
20 Ukkhittassa gahaṭṭhassa sesānam sahadhamminam  
pārājikassa sabbassa sikkhānikkhiṭṭakassa ca  
21 Nisinnaparisāyaṇi ca sabhāgāpattiko tathā  
chandena parivutthena pātimokkham na uddise  
22 Adesayitvānāpannam nāvikatvāna vematiṃ  
'nuposathe pi vā kātum posatho na ca kappati  
23 Atṭhitopasathāvāsā na vaje tadahū vinā  
antarāyam vā sangham vā dhiṭṭhātum sīmamevavāti

*XLV. Pavāraṇā ti.*

- 1 Dvinnaṃ tinnaṇi catunnaṇi ca aññaṃaññaṇapavāraṇā  
ekassa ca adhiṭṭhānam sesā saṅghapavāraṇā  
2 Pubbakicce ca karaṇe pattakalle samānite  
ṭhapetvā ñattiṃ saṅghena kattaḃbevaṃ pavāraṇā  
Suṇātu me bhante saṅgho. aṇṇa pavāraṇā pannarasī.  
yadi saṅghassa pattakallam saṅgho pavāreyyāti.  
3 Ekamsam cīvaram katvā nisīdītvā ukkuṭikam  
therena añjaliṃ saṅgho paggayha samudīriya  
saṅgham āvuso pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisankāya  
vā vadantu mam āyasmanto anukampam upādāya. passanto  
paṭikarissāmi. dutiyaṃ pi tatiyaṃ pi āvuso sangham  
pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā vadantu  
mam āyasmanto anukampam upādāya passanto paṭi-  
karissāmi.  
4 Pavārentesu theresa nisajjukkuṭikam navo  
pavāreti sayam yāva ukkuṭiko va acchatu  
5 Pubbārambham samāpetvā navo saṅgham udīriyo  
saṅgham bhante pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā pari-  
sankāya vā vadantu mam āyasmanto anukampam upādāya.  
passanto paṭikarissāmi. dutiyaṃ pi tatiyaṃ pi bhante  
sangham pavāremi d. vā s. vā p. vā . . . paṭikarissāmi.



dānena dhammasākacchā kalahehi ca rattiiyo

6 Tevācikāya okāse sati khepitabhāvato

antarāye dasavidhe ñattim vatvānurūpato

suṇātu me bhante sangho manussehi dānaṃ dentehi dvīhi  
bhikkhūhi dhammaṃ sākacchantehi kalahaṃ karontehi.  
yebhuyyena ratti khepitā sa ce sangho tevācikaṃ pavāressati  
appavārīto va sangho bhavissati athāyaṃ ratti vibhāyissati  
ayaṃ rājantarāyo pe . . . ayaṃ brahmacariyantarāyo sace  
sangho tevācikaṃ pavāressati appavārīto va sangho bhavissati.  
athāyaṃ brahmacariyantarāyo bhavissati. yadi sanghassa  
pattakallam sangho dtevācikaṃ ekavācikaṃ samānavassikaṃ  
pavareyyāti.

7 Pavāreyyānurūpena yathā t̐apitañattiyā

āgaccheyyumaṃ yadi samā ādikā cetha āhare

8 Evaṃ ti catuvaggo ca ñattim vatvā pavāraye

suṇantu me āyasmanto ajja pavāraṇā paṇṇārasī. yadāya-  
mantānaṃ pattakallam mayam aññamaññaṃ pavāreyyāmaṃti.

ekamsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā nisīditvā ukkuṭikaṃ

9 Therena añjalim tvevaṃ paggayha samuḍḍiriya

āham āvuso āyasmante pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā  
parisaṅkāya vā vadantu . . . paṭikarissāmi. dutiyampi tati-  
yampi . . . paṭikarissāmi.

navenāpi ahaṃ bhante āyasmante pavāremi . . . paṭi-  
karissāmaṃti.

dvīsu therena kattabbaṃ navo katvevaṃ īriyo

āham āvuso āyasmantaṃ pavāremi . . . dutiyampi tati-  
yampi . . . navenāpi . . . paṭikarissāmaṃti.

10 Pubbakiccaṃ samāpetvā adhiṭṭheyyevaṃ ekako

ajja me pavāraṇā cātuddasī ti vā paṇṇārasī ti vā adhiṭṭhā-  
mī ti vattabbaṃ.

yasmaṃ vasanti vā pañca cattāro vā tayo duve

11 Pavāraṇaṃ haritvāna ekekassitaritāre

taṃ taṃ pavāraṇaṃ kayirumaṃ siyā āpatti dukkaṭaṃ

12 Sesā uposathe vuttā gāthāyo cetha āhare

- 13 Pavārite ca sanghamhi pârisuddhi uposatham  
kareyya chinnavasso vā avuttho vānupāgato
- 14 Catumāsiniyā cāpi kate sanghenuposathe  
vutthavassā pavāreyyūṃ sace appatarā siyūṃti

*XLVI. Saṃvaro ti.*

- 1 Cakkhusotādibhedehi rūpasaddhādi gocare  
abhijjhādomanassādi ppavattiṃ vinivāraye
- 2 Niggaṇṇheyya sakaṃ cittaṃ kiṭṭhādiṃ viya duppasuṃ  
satimā sampajāno ca care sabbiriypathe ti

*XLVII. Suddhīti.*

- 1 Desanā saṃvaro eṭṭhi paccavekkhaṇabhedato  
suddhi catubbidhā pātimokkhasaṃvarasammutaṇṇa
- 2 Desanāya visuddhattā desanāsuddhi vuccati  
na punevaṃ karissanti cittādhiṭṭhānasamvaro
- 3 Vutto saṃvarasuddhīti sujhatindriyasamvaro  
pahāyāncsanam dhammenuppādentassa eṭṭhiyā
- 4 Suddhattā eṭṭhisuddhīti vuttam ājīvanissitaṃ  
yoniso paṭisankhāya cīvaram paṭisevati
- 5 Evamādi yathāvuttapaccavekkhaṇasujjanā  
paccavekkhaṇasuddhīti vuttaṃ paccayanissitanti

*XLVIII. Santoso ti.*

- 1 Appena anavajjena santutṭho sulabhena ca  
mattanūu subhara hutvā care sadhammagāraṇo
- 2 Atītaṃ nānusocanto nappajappamanāgataṃ  
paccuppanno nayāpento santutṭho ti pavuccati

*XLIX. Caturakkhā ti.*

- 1 Buddhānussatimettā ca asubham maraṇassa ti  
ārakattādinārahaṃ sammāsāmañca buddhato
- 2 Sammāsambuddham iti vānussatiyā punappunam  
navabhede bhagavato buddhānussatiyā guṇe

- 3 Sīmaṭṭhasanghasīmaṭṭhadevatāsu ca issare  
jane gocaragāmaṃhi tatthuppādāya mānuso
- 4 Sabbasattesu sukhitā hontā verādiādinā  
parichijja parichijja bhāvanā mettabhāvanā
- 5 Vaṇṇasaṇṭhānaokāsadisato paricchedato  
vavatthapetvā kesādikoṭṭhāse anupubbato
- 6 Nātisīghaṇ ca saṇikaṃ vikkhepaṃ paṭibāhayaṃ  
paṇṇattim samatikkamma muṇcantassānupubbato
- 7 Vaṇṇaāsayaṇṭhānaṃ gandhokāsehi bhāvanā  
paṭikkulāsikoṭṭhāse uddhumātādivatthuso
- 8 Gahetvā asubhākāraṃ pavattā bhāvanā subhaṃ  
maraṇaṃ me bhavissati jīvitam uparujjhati
- 9 Maraṇaṃ maraṇaṃ vāti bhāvayitvāna yoniso  
vadhakassevupaṭṭhānā sampattīnaṃ vipattito
- 10 Upasaṃharato kāyabahuśādhāraṇā tathā  
āyudubbalato kālavavatthānaṃ bhāvato
- 11 Adhānaṃ paricchedā bhāvanā maraṇassatīti

*L. Vipassanā ti.*

- 1 Nāmarūpaṃ pariggayha tato tassa ca paccayaṃ  
huvā abhāvato niccā udayabbayapīḷanā
- 2 Dukkhaṃ avasavattittā anattā ti tilakkhaṇaṃ  
āropetvāna sankhāre sammasanto punappaṇaṃ
- 3 Pāpuneyyānupubbena sabbasaṃyojanakkhayanti  
adhisīlādhicittānaṃ adhippaññāyasikkhanā
- 4 Bhikkhukiccam ato khuddasikkhāyasamudāhaṭo  
mahato kittisaddassayassa lokavicārino
- 5 Parissāro na sambhoti mālutasseva niccayo  
tena Dhammasirikena Tambapaṇṇiyaketunā
- 6 Therena racitā dhammavinayaññūpasamsitā  
ettāvātayaṃ niṭṭhānaṃ khuddasikkhā upāgata  
pañcamattehi gāthānaṃ satehi parimāṇato ti.

NIBBĀNAPACCAYO HOTU.

KHUDDASIKKHĀ NIṬṬHITĀ.

# MÛLASIKKHÂ.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMÂSAMBUDDHASA.

Natvâna tam pavakkhâmi mûlasikkham samâsato.

## PÂRÂJIKÂ.

- I. 1 Bhikkhunâ navakenâdo mûlabhâsâya sikkhitum  
yannimittam pavesanto bhikkhu maggattaye cuto
- 2 Pavesanatthituddhârapavitthe cepi sâdiyam  
adinnam mânusam bhaṇḍam theyyâyekena âdiyam
- 3 Pañcavisâvahâresu garukañ ce cuto bhava  
âdiyanto haranto vâ haranto iriyâpatham
- 4 Vikopento tathâ ṭhânâ câvento pi pārâjiko  
tattha nânekabhaṇḍânam pañcakânaṃ vasâ pana
- 5 Avahârâ dasaṃ ceti viññâtabbâ vibhâvinâ  
sahatthânattiko ceva nissaggo atthasâdhako
- 6 Dhuranikkhepanaṃ ceva idaṃ sâhatthapañcakam  
pubbasahapayogo ca samvidhâharaṇam pi ca
- 7 Saketakammaṃ nimittam pubbayogâdipañcakam  
theyyâpasayhâ parikappâ paṭicchinnâ kusâtikâ
- 8 Avahârâ ime pañca viññâtabbâ vibhâvinâ  
manussapâṇam pâṇoti jânam vadhakacetasâ  
jîvitâ yo viyojete sâsanâ so pārâjiko
- 9 Jhânâdibhedam haḍḍaye asantaṃ  
aññâpadesaṃ ca vinâdhimânaṃ  
manussajâtissa vadeyya bhikkhu  
ñâtakkhaṇe tena pārâjiko vaso.  
[parâjayam âpanno pārâjiko.]

CATTÂRO PÂRÂJIKÂ NIṬṬHITÂ.

*II. Sattagarukâpatti.*

- 1 Mocetukâmacittena upakkamma vimocayaṃ  
sukkam aññatra supinâ samaṇo garukaṃ phuse
- 2 Kâyasamsaggarâgena manussitthim parâmasaṃ  
itthisaññi upakkamma samaṇo garukaṃ phuse
- 3 Duṭṭhullavâcassâdena maggaṃ vârabba methunaṃ  
obhâsento manussitthiṃ suṇamânaṃ garuṃ phuse
- 4 Vanṇaṃ vatvattano kâmapâricariyâya methunaṃ  
itthimethunarâgena yâcamâno garuṃ phuse
- 5 Sandesaṃ paṭigaṇhitvâ purisassitthiyâ pi vâ  
vîmaṃsitvâ haraṃ pacchâ samaṇo garukaṃ phuse
- 6 Câvetukâmo codento amûlantimavatthunâ  
codâpayā vâ samaṇo suṇamânaṃ garuṃ phuse
- 7 Lesamattamupâdâya amûlantimavatthunâ  
câvetukâmo codento suṇamânaṃ garuṃ phuse

SATTAGARUKÂPATTI NIṬṬHITÂ.

*III. Nissaggiyâ.*

- 1 Vikappanam adhiṭṭhânaṃ akatvâ kâlâcivaraṃ  
dasâham atimâpeti tassa nissaggiyaṃ siyâ
- 2 Bhikkhusammutiyaññatra ticivaraṃ adhiṭṭhitāṃ  
ekâham atimâpeti tassa nissaggiyaṃ siyâ
- 3 Aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ purâṇâcivaraṃ pana  
dhovâpeti rajâpeti âkoṭâpeti taṃ siyâ
- 4 Aññâtikâya bhikkhuniyâ hatthato kiñci mûlakaṃ  
adatvâ civarâdâne nissaggiyaṃ udiritaṃ
- 5 Appavâritaṃ aññâtiṃ viññâpentassa civaraṃ  
aññatra samayâtassa nissaggiyaṃ udiritaṃ
- 6 Rajataṃ jâtarûpaṃ vâ mâsakaṃ vâ kahâpanaṃ  
gaṇheyya vâ gaṇhâpeyya nissaggi sâdiyeyya vâ
- 7 Parivatṭeyya nissaggi rajatâdi catubbidhaṃ  
kappiyaṃ kappiyenâpi ṭhapetvâ sahadhammike
- 8 Vikappanam adhiṭṭhânaṃ akatvâna pamânikaṃ  
dasâham atimâpeti pattaṃ nissaggiyaṃ siyâ

- 9 Pañcabandhanato ūnapatte sati param pana  
viññāpeti navam pattam tassa nissaggiyam siyā
- 10 Paṭiggahetvā bhuñjanto sappi telādikam pana  
sattāham atimāpeti tassa nissaggiyam siyā
- 11 Bhikkhussa cīvaram datvā acchindāpayato tam puna  
sakasaññāya nissaggi acchindāpayato pi vā
- 12 Appavāritam aññātīm suttam yāciya cīvaram  
vāyāpentassa nissaggi vinaññātipavārite
- 13 Jānanto bhikkhusanghassa lābham pariṇatam pana  
attano pariṇāmeti tassa nissaggiyam siya.  
[nissajjitabbo nissaggiyo.]

TERASA NISSAGGIYĀ NITṬHITĀ.

#### IV. Pācittiya.

- 1 Sampajānamusāvāde pācittiyam udīritam  
bhikkhuñ ca omasantassa pesuññaharaṇe pi ca
- 2 Ṭhapetvā bhikkhunim bhikkhum aññena piṭakattayam  
padaso dhammam bhaṇantassa pācittiyam udīritam
- 3 Anupasampanneva sayitvāna tirattiyam  
pācitti sahasēyyāya catutthatthangate puna
- 4 Itthiyā ekarattampi seyyam kappayato pi vā  
desentassa vinā viññum dhammam ca chapaduttari
- 5 Duṭṭhullam bhikkhuno vajjam bhikkhusammutiyā vinā  
abhikkhuno vadantassa pācittiyam udīritam
- 6 Khaṇeyya vā khanāpeyya pathaviñ ca akappiyam  
bhūtagāmaṃ vikopeyya tassa pācittiyam siyā
- 7 Ajjhokāse tu mañcādim katvā santharaṇādikam  
sanghikam yāti pācitti akatvā pucchanādikam
- 8 Sanghikāvasathe seyyam katvā santharaṇādikam  
akatvā pucchanādīm yo yāti pācitti tassa pi
- 9 Jānam sappāṇakam toyam pācitti paribhuñjaye  
aññātikā bhikkhuniyā ṭhapetvā parivaṭṭakam
- 10 Cīvaram deti pācitti cīvaram sibbato pi ca  
atirittam akāretvā pavāretvāna bhuñjato
- 11 Bhikkhum āsādanāpekkho pavāreti pavāritam  
natirittena bhutte tu pācittiyam udīritam

- 12 Sannidhiṃ bhojanaṃ bhuñje vikāle yāvakālikam  
bhuñjato vāpi pācitti agilānopanītakam
- 13 Viññāpetvāna bhuñjeyya sappi bhattādīkam pi ca  
appaṭiggahitaṃ bhuñje dantakatthodakam vinā
- 14 Tittihyassa dade kiñci bhuñjitabbaṃ sahatthato  
nisajjaṃ vā raho kappe mātugāmena ekato
- 15 Surāmerayapāne pi pācittiyam udiritaṃ  
angulipatodake cāpi hasadhamme pi codake
- 16 Anādare pi pācitti bhikkhuṃ bhimsayato pi vā  
bhayānakam katham katvā dassetvā vā bhayānakam
- 17 Thapetvā paccayaṃ kiñci agilāno jaleyya vā  
joti jalāpayeyya vā tassa pācittiyam siyā
- 18 Kappabīndum anādāya navacivarabhogino  
hasāpekkhassa pācitti bhikkhuno civarādīkam
- 19 Apanetvā nidhentassa nidhāpentassa vā pana  
jāṇam paṇam mārentassa tiracchānagataṃ pi vā
- 20 Chādetukāmo chādeti duṭṭhullaṃ bhikkhuno pi ca  
gāmantaragatassāpi samvidhāyittāvivā sabbā
- 21 Bhikkhuṃ paharato vāpi talasattīkam uggaṇa  
codeti vā codāpeti garukā mālekkena pi
- 22 Kukkuccuppādano cāpi bhaṇḍanattihāvupassat pi  
sotum bhaṇḍanaajātānaṃ vāpi pācittiyam siyā
- 23 sanghassa lābham parināmetan ta  
nāmeti yo taṃ parepuggalassa
- 24 Puccham akatvā pi ca santābhikkhuṃ  
pācitti gāmassa gate pi kāle

EKACATTĀNĪSA PĀCITTĪYĀ SĀPTITHĪ.

V. *Dubbhāsipahīṇṇakā-niddesa.*

- 1 Sanghikam garukam bhayānakaṃ sabbapāpīkassa pāpāna  
thullaccayaṃ yathāvatthānaṃ vāpi appaṭiggahitaṃ pi
- 2 Kusādimayacīrāni kambakam kesaṃ cāpī p  
samayaṃ vinā dhārayatoḷūkaṃ pācittīkathācchīṇaṃ
- 3 Sattakamme vattikamme sarāṇīkassa cāpi pāpāna  
thullaccayaṃ marussānaṃ mārasācchīṇaṃ pāpāna
- 4 Kadaleraḥkādussāni peṭṭhakam sabbapāpīkassa  
sabbapāpīkassa cāpi dhārayantassa dukkhaṃ

- 5 Hatthissuragasonānaṃ sīhabyagghaccha dīpaṇaṃ  
taracchassa ca maṃsādi uddissakatakam pi ca
- 6 Anāpucchitamamaṃsaṃ ca bhuñjato dukkaṭaṃ siyā  
yāthānupubbam hitvāna dakatitthādikaṃ vaje
- 7 Sahasā vubbhajitvāna pavise nikhameyya vā  
vaccapassāvakuṭikaṃ vinā ukkāsikaṃ vise
- 8 Nitthunanto kare vaccaṃ dantakaṭṭhaṃ ca khādayaṃ  
vaccapassāva doninaṃ bahi vaccādikaṃ kare
- 9 Kharena cāvalekheyya kaṭṭhaṃ pāteyya kūpake  
ūhataṃ ca na dhoveyya uklāpaṃ ca na sodhaye
- 10 Dakakiccaṃ karontassa katvā capu capu ti ca  
anajjhītṭho va therena pātimokkham pi uddise
- 11 Anāpucchāya pañhassa kathane visajjane pi ca  
sajjhāyakaṇe dīpaṃ jālāne vijjhāpane pi ca
- 12 Vātapāṇakavātādi vivareyya thakeyya vā  
vandanādiṃ kare naggo gamanaṃ bhojanaṃ pi ca
- 13 Parikammaṃ kare kāre 'ti paṭichannakaṃ vinā  
nahāya kāyaṃ ghaṃseyya kuḍḍe thambhe tarum pi vā
- 14 Kuruvindakasuttēna aññamaññassa kāyato  
agilāno pahārāme careyya saupāhano
- 15 Upāhanaṃ yo dhāreti sabbanilādikaṃ pi ca  
nīmittam itthiyāratto mukhaṃ vā bhikkhadāyiyā
- 16 Ujjhānasaññi aññassa pattaṃ vā attano mukhaṃ  
ādāsādimhi passeyya uccāsanamahāsane
- 17 Nisajjādiṃ karontassa dukkaṭaṃ vandane pi vā  
ukkiṭṭhānupasampannanāsaṃvāsakādinaṃ
- 18 Ekato paṇḍakitthiṃ ubhatobyañjanaṇa vā  
dīghāsane nisīdeyya adīghe āsane pi ca
- 19 Asamānāsānikena mañcapīṭhe sayeyya vā  
kulasangahatthaṃ dadato phalapupphādikaṃ pi ca
- 20 Gaṇṭhim ādiṃ kare kāre jinavāritapaccaye  
paribhuñjeyya abyatto anissāya vaseyya vā
- 21 Anuññātehi aññassa bhesajjaṃ vā kare vade  
kare sāpattiko bhikkhu uposathapavāraṇaṃ
- 22 Dvārabandhādike ṭhāne parivattakavāṭakaṃ  
apiddhāya vinā bhogaṃ niyogaṃ vāsāye divā
- 23 Dhaññitthirūparatanam āvudhitthipasādanam  
tūribhaṇḍam phalaṃ rukkhe pupphaṇṇādiṃ ca āmase



- 24 Sasittodakatelehi phaṇahatthaphaṇehi vā  
kesam oṣaṇhanekasmiṃ bhājane bhojane pi ca
- 25 Ekattharaṇapāvuraṇe sayeyyūṃ dvekamañcake  
dantakatṭhaṇ ca khādeyya adhikūṇaṃ pamānato
- 26 Yojeti vā yojāpeti naccam gītaṃ ca vāditam  
dassanam savanam tesam karontassa ca dukkaṭam
- 27 Pihādiropime cāpi bahi pākāraḷḷadake  
vaccādicchaddanādimhi dīghakesādi dhārane
- 28 Nakhamatṭhakarādimhi sambādhe lomahāraṇe  
parikkammakataṃ bhūmiṃ akkame saūpāhano
- 29 Adhotaallopādehi sanghikaṃ mañcapīṭhakaṃ  
parikkammakataṃ bhittim āmasantassa dukkaṭam
- 30 Sanghaṭṭiyā pi pallatthe dupparibhuñjeyya cīvaram  
akāyabandhano gāmaṃ vaje katvāna vaccakaṃ
- 31 Nācameyya dake sante samādeyya akappiye  
desanārocanādimhi sabhāgāpattiyā pi ca
- 32 Na vase vassam viṣamvāde suddhacitto paṭissavam  
vassam vasitvā gamane ananuññātakiccato
- 33 Vinā padaṃ tarusuddham porisamhābhirūhane  
aparissāvano 'ddhānam vaje tam yācito na de
- 34 Attano ghātane itthirūpādim kārayeyya vā  
hitvā mālādikaṃ cittaṃ jātakādim sayam kare
- 35 Bhuñjantamutṭhapentassa sālādisu nisīdato  
vuddhānam pana okāsam adatvā vāpi dukkaṭam
- 36 Yānādim abhirūheyya kallako ratanattayam  
ārabbha vade davanūṇaparisāyopalālāne
- 37 Kāyādim vivaritvāna bhikkhunīnam-na dassaye  
vāce lokāyatam phalitam gaṇheyya gaṇhapeyya vā
- 38 Yatthakatthacipeḷāya bhuñjato patta hatthako  
vātapāṇakavātaṃ vā paṇāme sodakam pi ca
- 39 Uṇheyya paṭisāmeyya atiuṇheyya nodakam  
ṭhapeyya bhūmiyam pattam ange vā mañcapīṭṭhe vā
- 40 Miḍhante paribhaṇḍante pāde chatte ṭhapeti vā  
calakādim ṭhape pattam patte vā hattha dhovaṇe
- 41 Pattena niharantassa ucchiṭṭham udakam pi ca,  
akappiyam pi pattam vā paribhuñjeyya dukkaṭam
- 42 Vade jīvā 'ti khipite na bhikkhati anādaro  
parimaṇḍalakādimhi sekhiye dukkaṭam siyā

- 43 Yo bhaṇḍāgāre pasutto va bhaṇḍakam  
mâtûna pâcittiyam assa gopayo  
44 Davāya hīnena pi jâtīādinā  
vadeyya dubbhāsitaṃ uttamam pi so

DUBBHĀSIPAKIṆṆAKANIDDESĀ NIṬṬHITĀ.

### VI. *Suddhi.*

- 1 Upajjhāceravattaṃ ca gamikāgantukam pi ca  
senāsanādivattaṃ ca kâtabbam piyasīlinā
- 2 Hatthapāse ṭhito kiñci gahitabbam dade tidhā  
gahetukāmo gaṇheyya dvidhāyaṃ sampatiggaho
- 3 Sanghāṭim uttarāsaṅgam tathā antaravāsakam  
etaṃ imam adhiṭṭhāmi tathā paccuddharāmīti
- 4 Imam imāni etāni etaṃ pi cīvaran ti vā  
parikkhāracoḷānīti tathā paccuddharāmīti
- 5 Ekam imam adhiṭṭhāmi puttaṃ paccuddharāmīti  
evaṃ paccuddhare 'dhiṭṭhe cīvarādi yathāvidhi
- 6 Sañcarittaṃ vinā sesā sacittagarukantimā  
acchinnam parinātaṃ hitvā nissaggiyam acittakam
- 7 Padaso dhammam duve seyyam itthiyā dhammadesanā  
duve senāsanāni pi sibbanam cīvarassa pi
- 8 Pavāritaṃ surāpānaṃ pañcasannidhiādikaṃ  
joti ujjālanaṃ ceva kappabindum anādikam
- 9 Gāmapavesanan 'tete pâcittīsu acittakā  
pakiṇṇakesu uddissa katham hitvaññāmaṃsakam
- 10 Ekattharaṇapāvuraṇam ekamañce tuvaṭṭaṇam  
ekato bhuñjanaṃ cāpi naccagītādi sattapi
- 11 Akāyabandhanaṃ cāpi pattahatthakavāṭakam  
acittakam idaṃ sabbam sesamettasacittakam
- 12 Vitakkamanacittena sacittakam acittakam  
paññattijānane cāpi vadantācariyā tathā
- 13 Pabbakaraṇādikaṃ katvā uposathapavāraṇam  
navamā dīpitaṃ sabbam kâtabbam piyasīlinā  
sammūjjaṇi padipo ca udakam āsanena ca  
uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇan ti vuccati.  
chandapārisuddhi utukkhānaṃ bhikkhugaṇanā ca ovādo.  
uposathassa etāni pubbakaraṇan ti vuccati

uposatho yâvatikâ ca bhikkhû  
 kammapattâ sabhâgâpattiyo ca  
 na vijjanti vajjanîyâ ca puggalâ  
 tasmim na honti pattakallan ti vuccati.

pubbakaranapubbakiccâni samâdapetvâ desitâpattikassa sa-  
 maggassa bhikkhusanghassa anumatiyâ pâtimokkham uddi-  
 situm ârâdhanam karoma.

pârisuddhi adhiṭṭhânam suddhesavasâ tidhâ  
 gaṇapuggalasanghâ ca tam kareyyum yathâkamam  
 câtuddaso pañcadaso samaggi dinato tidhâ  
 dinapuggalakâtabbâ kârato tena veritâ  
 tayo tayo' ti katvâna dinapuggalabhedato  
 tevâcidvekavâciti nava vuttâ pavâraṇâ  
 kattikantimapakkhamhâ hemam phagguṇapunnamâ  
 tassa antimapakkhamhâ gimham âsâlipunnamâ  
 vassakâlam tato seyyam catuvisatuposathâ  
 câtuddasa cha etesu pakkhâ tatiyasattamâ  
 ñeeyyâ pannarasa sesâ atṭhârasa uposathâ

chandam dammi. chandam me hara. chandam me âroce-  
 hîti chandam dâtabbam. pârisuddhim dammi. p° me hara.  
 p° me ârocehîti pârisuddhi dâtabbâ. pavâranam dammi. p°  
 me hara. p° me ârocehi mamatthâya pavârehîti pavâraṇâ  
 dâtabbâ. âpatti desakena. aham bhante sambahulâ nânâ-  
 vatthukâ âpattiyo âpajjim. tâ tumhe mûle paṭidesemi.  
 vutte passasi âvuso tâ âpattiyo ti. paṭigaṇhantena vutte.  
 âma bhante passâmi vatvâ puna paṭigaṇhantena âyatim âvuso  
 samvareyyâsîti vutte sâdhu sutthum bhante samvarissâmiti  
 tikkhattum vatvâ desetabbam. vematim ârocentena. aham  
 bhante sambahulâsu nânâvatthukâsu âpattisu vematiko.  
 yadâ nibbematiko bhavissâmi tadâ tâ âpattiyo paṭikarissâmiti  
 tikkhattum vatvâ âroceabbam ajja me uposatho pannaraso ca-  
 tuddaso ti vâ adhiṭṭhâmiti. tikkhattum vatvâ puggalena adhi-  
 ṭṭhânauposatho kâtabbo. dvisu pana therena parisuddho aham  
 âvuso parisuddho ti mam dhârehîti tikkhattum vattabbam.

navakenâpi tatheva vattabbam. aham bhante mam dhâ-  
 rethâti vacanam viseso. tisû pana suṇantu me âyasmanto  
 ajjuposatho pannaraso yadâyasmantânâ pattaḥkallam mayam  
 aññamaññam pârisuddhi uposatham kareyyâmâti ñattim tha-

petvā paṭipāṭiyā vattanayena pārisuddhiuposatho kâtabbo. ajja me pavāraṇā cātuddasīti vā pannarasīti vā adhiṭṭhāmīti tikkhattum vatvā ekena pavāretabbo. dvisu pana therena aham āvuso āyasmantaṃ pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā. vadatu mam āyasmā anukampam upādāya. passanto paṭikarissāmīti. tikkhattum vatvā pavāretabbam. navakenāpi tattheva vattabbam sante tivacanaṃ viseso. tīsu vā catūsu vā pana suṇantu me āyasmantā ajja pavāraṇā pannarasī yadāyasmantānaṃ pattakallaṃ mayam aññaṃ aññaṃ pavāreyyāmāti. ñattim ṭhapetvā therena aham āvuso āyasmante pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā vadantu mam āyasmantā anukampam upādāya. passanto paṭikarissāmīti. tikkhattum vatvā pavāretabbam navakehi pi tattheva paṭipāṭiyā pavāretabbam bhante tivacanaṃ viseso. catūhi adhikesu paṇa suṇātu me āvuso sangho. ajja pavāraṇā pannarasī yadi sanghassa pattakallaṃ sangho pavāreyyāti ñattim ṭhapetvā vuddhatarena samgham āvuso pavāremi diṭṭhena vā sutena vā parisankāya vā. vadatu mam sangho an° up° pass° paṭ° tik° v° p° atthataṃ bhante sanghassa kaṭhinaṃ dhammiko. kaṭhinatthāro. anumodā-mīti tik° vatvā kathinaṃ anumoditabbam evaṃ pi nissāya gahetabbo. ekamsam uttarāsangaṃ karitvā añjalikatvā ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā yāvatatīyakam ācariyo me bhante hoti. āyasmatā nissāya vacchāmīti gahetabbo. nissayaṃ dentena pi lajjino yeva dātabbam na bhikkhavehi alajjinaṃ nissayo dātabbo. yo dadeyya āpatti dukkaṭassāti vuttaṃ. desanā suddhi nāma pātimokkhasamvarasīlaṃ tamhi desanāya sujjanato desanāsuddhīti vuccati. samvarasuddhi nāma indriya-samvarasīlaṃ tamhi na punevaṃ karissāmīti manasi 'dhiṭṭhāyasujjanato samvarasuddhīti vuccati. parisēṭṭhisuddhi nāma ājivaparisuddhisīlaṃ tamhi pariyesanāya suddhatā parisēṭṭhisuddhīti vuccati. paccavekkhaṇāsuddhi nāma paccayapari-bhogasannissitasīlaṃ tamhi paṭisankhā yoniso cīvaram paṭisevāmi ādinā nayena vuttapaccavekkhaṇena sujjanato paccavekkhaṇāsuddhīti vuccati.

NIBBĀNAPACCAYO HOTU.

MŪLASIKKHĀ NIṬṬHITĀ.

## COMPARATIVE TABLE.

### KHUDDASIKKHÂ.

- I = Pâr. 1-4, comp. Kankhâ Vitaranî ap. Minayeff Pâtimokkha, p. 67.  
II = Sangh. 1-9. C. II, 1, 4. M. IX, 4, 6.  
III = M. I, 30, 4. Pâc. 90. 91. 92. M. VIII, 13. 14. 16-18. 20. 21.  
28. 29. M. III, 5, 9.  
IV = M. VIII, 10, 1.  
V = Niss. 21. C. V, 9. 10.  
VI = ?  
VII = Pâc. 35-39.  
VIII = M. VI, 40, 2. 35, 6. Niss. 23. M. VI, 3-6.  
IX = ?  
X = M. VI, 23, 9-15. 31, 13. 14.  
XI = Niss. 19. 20. 30.  
XII = Pâc. 1-4. 75. 54. 77. 85. 67. 55. 63. 12. 1. 2. 64. 53.  
XIII = Pâc. 11. M. VI, 21. C. V, 5, 2.  
XIV = M. VI, 33, 4. III, 5, 6. VI, 40, 2.  
XV = M. I, 32. 25. 26. C. VIII, 7, 1. M. I, 25, 23. 24. 20.  
XVI = C. VIII, 10, 1-3.  
XVII = M. II, 15, 5-11. 16, 9. M. I, 25, 18.  
XVIII = C. V, 15.  
XIX = C. V, 1.  
XX = C. VI, 6, 5.  
XXI = ?  
XXII = M. V, 2.  
XXIII = Sekh. 38. C. V, 2, 4.  
XXIV = M. VI, 12. 13.  
XXV = M. V, 10, 4 = Brahmajâlasutta Grimblot Sept Suttas Pâli, p. 9.  
C. VI, 8. 14.  
XXVI = C. VI, 13, 2.  
XXVII = M. III, 6, 6 (?). IX, 3, 4.  
XXVIII = C. I, 13.  
XXIX = Sangh. 13.

- XXX = M. I, 25 ff. C. VIII, 1 ff.  
 XXXI = Pâc. 59 comp. Kankhâ Vit. ap. Min. 48.  
 XXXII = M. I, 35 ff.  
 XXXIII = C. V, 29.  
 XXXIV = Pâc. 10. 74. C. VI, 3.  
 XXXV = ?  
 XXXVI = ?  
 XXXVII = Pâc. 84. C. VI, 17.  
 XXXVIII = Sangh. 13.  
 XXXIX = M. III, 2. 3. 6-12.  
 XL = M. VIII, 27, 5. C. VI, 16, 2. Pâr. IV, 1, 3. C. VI, 15, 2.  
 XLI = C. V, 14, 3. VI, 2, 1. V, 2, 3. 19, 2, 31, 2. 34. 27, 1. 3. 4. 2.  
 Pâc. 2 (comp. Samanta Pâsâdikâ ap. Minayeff Pât. 83).  
 C. VI, 20. VIII, 9. V, 32, 2. 13, 2. V, 7. M. V, 10, 3.  
 I, 59, 1. C. X, 9. V, 33, 2. 27, 5. 29, 4. 32, 1. Sekh  
 74. Bhikkhunîpâc. 8. 9. M. I, 56. Pâc. 54. M. I, 25.  
 13. 26, 3. 27, 3. V, 12. VIII, 23, 1. C. V, 23, 1. 2. 27,  
 5. 30. VI, 2, 5. M. IV, 1, 12. VI, 27, 5. C. V, 23, 5.  
 M. VIII, 27. 31. C. V, 28, 1. 37. M. V, 10, 4.  
 XLII = Niss. 1-5. 11-19. 20-22. 23-30.  
 XLIII = M. II, 23. 22.  
 XLIV = M. II, 28, 3. 4. 34, 1-3. II, 16, 6. 26, 2. 22, 1. 26, 5. 9. 10.  
 II, 14. 27, 2.  
 XLV = M. IV, 16, 2. 5, 3. I, 13. 14. 15, 2. 4. 7. 16, 2. 17, 6. 18.  
 XLVI = ?

## MŪLASIKKHÂ.

- I { = Pârivâra VI, 5.  
 } = Pârâjikâ 1-4.  
 II = Sangh. 1-4. 8. 9.  
 III = Niss. 1. 2. 4. 1. 18. 21-23. 25. 26. 30.  
 IV { = Pâc. 1-7. 2-11. 14. 15. 20. 25. 26. 35-41. 44. 51-56. 60. 61. 64.  
 } 67. 75-78.  
 V { = M. VIII, 27. VI, 14, 4. 22, 4. C. V, 7. M. VI, 23, 9.  
 } = M. VIII, 28. VI, 23. 31, 13. C. VIII, 10. M. II, 15, 5.  
 I, 25, 18. C. V, 15. V, 1, 3. VI, 20, 1. M. V, 2. C. V,  
 2, 4. M. V, 10, 4. C. VI, 8, 14. 13, 2. II, 1, 4. VI,  
 6, 5. V, 19, 2. 31, 2. 2, 6. 27, 1-4. Sekh. 74. Bhikkhunî-  
 pâc. 8. 9. C. VI, 20, 2. V, 29, 1. VIII, 9. V, 32, 2.  
 13, 2. M. V, 10, 3. I, 59, 1. C. X, 9. 1. 2. Pâc. 21.  
 C. V, 33, 2. 9, 3. 4. V, 10, 3. 33, 3. VIII, 5, 2. Sekh. 1.  
 VI { = M. I, 32.  
 } = Sangh. 4. Niss. 30. Pâc. 4. 7. Niss. 23. Pâc. 38 comp.  
 Kankhâ Vit. ap. Min. Pât. 91. C. V, 19, 2. V, 2, 6. 29, 1.

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## I. VINAYA PITAKAM.

Title.	Number. of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
PĀRĀJIKAM	112	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Oriental 444.
do., defective	146	Burmese	do.	Egerton 736.
do., defective	147	do.	do.	" 1115.
do., fragment	39	do.	do.	Additional 12,090.
Pārājīkam, with Burmese interpretation.	313	do.	do.	Orient. 2446.
Defective	294	Burmese	do.	" 1027.
Pārājika Atthakathā.	91	do.	do.	Eg. 1115.
PĀCĪTIVĀM, def.	551	Kambojian	do.	Orient. 1261.
MAHĀVĀGGO				
do., fragment, with Burmese interpretation	24	Burmese	do.	Add. 9068.



Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
C'ULAVAGO : Sanghādisesa ritual	14	Square char.	Gilt palmleaves	Add. 8903.
do.	7	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Eg. 1114.
do.	6	do.	Palmleaves	Add. 10,550.
do.	5	do.	do.	" 10,554.
do.	177	do.	do.	Orient. 2664.
PARIVĀRO				Eg. 735.
Kammavācam, <sup>1</sup> chh. 2-4. Defective	6	Square char.	Gilt palmleaves	Add. 4849 A.
do., chh. 1-3, 5. Defective	15	do.	do.	" 4849 B.
do., chh. 3, 4. Fragment	2	do.	do.	" 11,640.
do., chh. 1-3	12	do.	do.	" 12,087.
do., ch. 2. Fragment	1	do.	Palmleaf painted red	" 15,240.
do., ch. 1. Fragment	1	do.	Ivory	" 15,289.
do., chh. 1-3.	18	do.	Gilt palmleaves	" "

<sup>1</sup> In the division of this Buddhist ritual I have followed the authority of a MS. in the possession of Dr. Rost, who kindly lent it to me for examination. This MS. is the only complete copy of the *Kammavācam*, which has come under my notice. It is written on twenty gilt palmleaves, numbered *tha-gai*, in the square char. The *nine* chapters into which it is divided begin as follows :—

1. Paṭhamam upajjham gāhāpetabbo | fol. *khāḍ*, l. 2.
2. Tāvadeva chāyā metabbā | utupamāpam ācikkhitabbam | fol. *khāḍ*, l. 4.
3. Sūnātu me bhante saṅgho | idam saṅghassa kathinadussam uppamam | fol. *khauz*, l. 3.
4. Sūnātu me bhante saṅgho | yo so saṅghena tielvarena avippavāso sammato | fol. *khāḍa*, l. 4.
5. Aham bhante itthanānāman nāmasammutim icchāmi | fol. *gā*, l. 2.
6. Aham bhante itthanānāman nāmasammutim icchāmi | fol. *gā*, l. 5.
7. Sūnātu me bhante saṅgho | yadi saṅghassa pattakallam | saṅgho itthanānāman vihāram koppiyubhānim sammameyya | fol. *gub*, l. 3.
8. Sūnātu me bhante saṅgho | eyam itthanāno bhikkhu saññācāyakaṭṭakāmo | asāṅkam attuddesam | so saṅgham kuṭṭivathum olokanam yāceti | fol. *gūa*, l. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Aham bhanto nissayamuttasammutim icchāmi | soham bhante saṅgham nissayamuttasammutim yācāmīti || fol. *gea*, l. 4.  
 Subcription : Navakhaṇḍam.

Titla.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.	
				Add.	MS.
Kammavācam, ch. 1.	5	Burmese	Gilt palmleaves	Add. 15,290.	
do., chh. 1-2.	14	Square char.	Ivory	" 15,291.	
do., chh. 1-3.	12	do.	Gilt palmleaves	" 17,490.	
do., ch. 3. Fragment	1	do.	Gilt copperplate	" 18,756 A.	
do., ch. 2. Fragment	1	do.	Copperplate painted red	" 18,756 B.	
do., chh. 1-3.	12	do.	Gilt copperplates	" 22,841.	
do., ch. 1. Fragment	3	do.	Cloth thickly coated with lacquer, with inlaid mother-of-pearl letters and ornaments	" 23,939.	
do., ch. 2, with Burmese interpretation. Defective	13	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	" 24,128.	
do., chh. 1-3. Defective	10	Square char.	Gilt palmleaves	" 27,279.	
do., chh. 1, 3. do.	8	do.	Ivory	" 27,287.	
do., chh. 1-3. do.	12	do.	Gilt palmleaves	" 27,288.	
do., chh. 1-3.	12	do.	do.	Orient. 1607.	
do., chh. 1-3.	16	do.	do.	" 1608.	
do., chh. 1-3.	17	do.	Palmleaves painted red	" 1609.	
do., chh. 1-3.	17	do.	Gilt palmleaves	" 2171.	
do., chh. 1-3. Defective.	14	do.	do.	" 2604.	
do., chh. 1-3.	12	do.	do.	" 2605.	
Bhikkhu-Pātimokkham	14	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 17,328a.	
do., in part	8	Square char.	Gilt palmleaves	" 6779 A.	
do., fragment	1	do.	Gilt palmleaf	" 6779 B.	
do., fragment	8	Kambojan	Palmleaves	Orient. 1066.	
do., in part, with Burmese interp.	7	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Add. 4850 A.	

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Bhikkhu-Pāṭimokkham, fragment, with Burmese interpretation	4	Burmese	Silvered palmleaves	Add. 4850 B.
Bhikkhu-Pāṭimokkham, with Burmese interpretation	52	do.	Palmleaves	" 10,552.
Bhikkhu-Pāṭimokkham, with Sinhalese interpretation, and Bikkhunī-Pāṭimokkham	75	Sinhalese	do.	Orient. 1309.
Bhikkhunī-Pāṭimokkham, with Burmese interpretation	71	Burmese	do.	Add. 19,957.
Bhikkhunīvibhaṅgo. Defective. Kaṇḍhāvitaranī, with Burmese interpretation. Defective	42	do.	do.	Eg. 1115.
Samantapāsādikā. Fragment	318	do.	do.	Orient. 2176.
Sārattha-dīpaṇī	24	Kambojan	do.	Orient. 12456.
do.	372	Sinhalese	Paper	Eg. 766.
	578	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 17,944.
II. SUTTA PĪṬAKAM.				
Dīgha Nicaṇḍo : Sīlakkhandavaggo	160	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 18,755a.
do.	141	do.	do.	Orient. 1436.
do., with Burmese interpretation.				
Defective	380	do.	do.	Add. 15,262.
Brahmajāla Sutta	32	Sinhalese	do.	Orient. 2244, foll. ka-khaḥ [Ch.].
do., with Sinhalese interpretation	138	do.	do.	Add. 17,678.

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Brahmajālasutta Aṭṭhakathā	137	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient. 2233 [Childers].
Samaññaphala Sutta	54	Roman	do.	" 2234, foll. 1-54 [Ch.].
Samaññaphalasutta Vaṇṇanā	79	Sinhalese	do.	" 2234, foll. 55-133 [Ch.].
Kevaṇṇasutta	8	do.	do.	" 2235, foll. 1-8 [Ch.].
Kevaṇṇasutta Vaṇṇanā	5	do.	do.	" " foll. 9-13 [Ch.].
Mahānidāna Sutta	11	do.	Palmleaves	" 2244, foll. ga-ge [Ch.].
do.	14	do.	Paper	" 2236, foll. 1-14 [Ch.].
Mahānidānasutta Vaṇṇanā	32	do.	do.	" " foll. 15-46 [Ch.].
Mahāparinibbāna Sutta	117	do.	do.	" 2237 [Ch.].
do.	55	do.	do.	" 2238, foll. 1-55 [Ch.].
do.	63	do.	do.	" 2239, foll. 1-63 [Ch.].
do.	33	do.	Palmleaves	" 2241a. [Ch.].
Mahāparinibbānasutta Vaṇṇanā	40	do.	do.	" 2241b. [Ch.].
do.	79	do.	Paper	" 2238, foll. 56-134 [Ch.].
do.	104	do.	do.	" 2239, foll. 64-167 [Ch.].
do.	128	do.	do.	" 2240, foll. 1-128a [Ch.].
Mahāsamaya Sutta	4	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 17,328b.
Mahāsettipaṭṭhāna Sutta	15	Sinhalese	do.	Orient. 2244, foll. ghi-na [Ch.].
do. Defective	11	Burmese	do.	Add. 10,560a.b.
Mahāsettipaṭṭhāna Sutta, with explanation	49	do.	do.	Orient. 2170.
do., with Sinhalese interp.	118	Sinhalese	do.	" 2264.
Sigālovāda Sutta	7	do.	do.	" 2244, foll. gai-gā [Ch.].
do.	9	do.	Paper	" 2243, foll. 2-10 [Ch.].
Sigālovādasutta Aṭṭhakathā	58	do.	do.	" 2243, foll. 12-69 [Ch.].
do.	14	do.	do.	" 1051 [Ch.].

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Sigālovādasutta Aṭṭhakathā	6	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient. 1048 [Ch.].
Saṅgīti Sutta	53	do.	Paper	" 2261, foll. 1-53 [Ch.].
Dasuttara Sutta	55	Roman	do.	" 2242, foll. 2-56 [Ch.].
do.	12	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	" 2241c. [Ch.].
Dasuttarasutta Vaṇṇanā.	5	do.	do.	" 2241c. [Ch.].
do.	15	do.	Paper	" 2242, foll. 57-71 [Ch.].
Mahāsudassanasutta Vaṇṇanā. Defective	4	do.	do.	" 2240, foll. 128a-131 [Ch.].
do., with Sinhalese interp.	33	do.	Palmleaves	Add. 21,903.
Sumangalavilāsinī	254	do.	do.	" 11,550.
MAJJHIMA NIKĀYO: Mūlapaññāsakam. Defec.	422	Kambojian	do.	" 11,554.
Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta	53	Sinhalese	Copperplates	" 12,091.
Cūlakemmayibhanga Sutta	14	do.	Silverplates	Eg. 764, foll. ke-khri.
SAMYUTTA NIKĀYO. Defec. at the end	235	do.	Palmleaves	Orient. 2344.
Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta	11	do.	Silverplates	Eg. 764, foll. ka-khī.
do.	3	do.	Palmleaves	Orient. 2245c [Ch.].
Girimānanda Sutta, with Burmese interp.	11	Burmese	do.	Add. 10,549.
Asāṅkhata Samyuttam	8	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient. 2261, foll. 54-61 [Ch.].
ANGUTTARA NIKĀYO	438	do.	Palmleaves	" 2276.
do.	414	do.	do.	" 2412.
do., Nipāta 8-11. Defective	275	Burmese	do.	" 2177.
Manorathapūraṇī Tīkā. Defective	171	do.	do.	" 2089.
KHUDDAKA NIKĀYO: Khuddaka Pāṭho, with Sinhalese interp.	31	Sinhalese	Paper	" 1005 [Ch.].
Dhammapadam, with Sinhalese interpretation	151	do.	Palmleaves	Add. 11,551.
Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. Fragments	360	Kambojian	do.	Orient. 1273.
do. Fragment	25	do.	do.	" 1000.

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā, by Dammapāla.				
Defective.				
Suttaṇipāṭa	341	Kambojīan	Palmleaves	Add. 11,553.
Dhammika Sutta, with Commentary	163	Sinhalese	do.	" 27,469.
Brahmaṇadhammikasutta Vajjanā	8	do.	do.	Orient. 2245a. [Ch.]
Mangalasutta Tīkā	8	do.	do.	" 2245b. [Ch.]
Mangaladīpanī Aṭṭhakathā. Fragment	353	do.	do.	Add. 17,554, foll. ka-kū.
Mahāniddesa-gaṇṭho	24	Kambojīan	do.	" 17,554-17,555.
Paramatthajōṭikā, with Burmese interpretation. Incomplete	188	Burmese	do.	Orient. 1065.
Jātakam				" 2603.
Mahānipāṭa, with Burmese interpretation	249	Burmese	do.	Add. 21,578.
Mahānārada-Jātakam and Vidhura-Jātakam	135	Sinhalese	do.	" 27,469.
Vessantara-Jātakam	650	Burmese	do.	" 12,237-12,238.
Mukkhā-Jātakam	42	do.	do.	" 10,598.
Mahosatha-Jātakam, with Burmese interpretation. Defective	53	Kambojīan	do.	Orient. 1245a,b.
Jūjakapabbam, with Siamese interp.	65	Burmese	do.	" 2193.
Gāthās	260	do.	do.	999.
	17	Kambojīan	do.	" 1246b.
	1	Burmese	Tinplate	Add. 21,612.
III. ABHIDHAMMA PĪṬAKAM.				
Dhātukathā, with Burmese interp.	179	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 19,978.
Yamaka. Incomplete	242	do.	do.	" 20,781.
do.	100	do.	do.	Orient. 1237.

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Atthasālinī, with Burmese interpretation	480	Burmese	Palmleaves	Orient. 2173.
Sammohavinodanī. Defective	179	do.	do.	" 2670.
Paṭṭhānappakarāṇa Atthakathā	147	Kambojān	do.	Add. 11,552.
Īnatthapādavaṇṇanā or Abhidhammassa				
Mūlaṭṭikā, by Ānandācāriya	338	Burmese	do.	" 11,641.
IV. RELIGIOUS WORKS.				
Parittam	147	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient. 1092.
Parittasāṅkhepavaṇṇanā	68	Kambojān	do.	" 1246a.
Suttasāṅgha Nissaya	427	Burmese	do.	Add. 15,261.
do.	346	do.	do.	Eg. 1116.
do., fragment	11	do.	do.	Add. 9953.
Visuddhi Maggo	240	Sinhalese	do.	" 11,658.
do.	308	do.	do.	Orient. 2246 [Ch.].
Sārasaṅgho	312	Kambojān	do.	" 1044 [Ch.].
Abhidhammatthasaṅgho	25	Burmese	do.	Add. 10,553.
do.	24	do.	do.	" 12,246.
do.	23	do.	do.	Orient. 2247 [Ch.].
do., chh. 1-3, with Burmese interpretation	32	do.	do.	" 2170.
do., ch. 2, with Burmese interpretation	45	do.	do.	Add. 10,556.
do., ch. 5, with B. interpretation	42	do.	do.	" 6781 B.
do., ch. 8, with B. interpretation	37	do.	do.	" 10,557.

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Abhidhammatthasangaha Tīkā, with Burmese interpretation	328	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 26,660.
Saddhammopāyana, with Sin. interpretation	89	Sinhalese	do.	Orient. 2248 [Ch.].
Invocations to Buddha, with B. interpretation	14	Burmese	do.	Add. 5889.

## V. CIVIL LAW CODES.

Dhammasattapakaraṇam, with Burmese interp. <sup>1</sup>	215	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 12,241—12,242; 12,250.
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## VI. LEGENDARY TALES AND HISTORY.

Collection of Vatthus, with Sinhalese interpretation. Defective at the end	140	Sinhalese	Palmleaves	Orient. 1090.
Milindapañho, with B. interpretation	392	Burmese	do.	" 458.
Mahāvamsa, chh. 1-37. <sup>2</sup>	88	Sinhalese	Paper	" 2250. [Ch.].
Dīpavamsa	39	do.	Palmleaves	" 2249. [Ch.].

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum possesses two Burmese Commentaries on portions of the above work, viz. 1. *Manuvāṇa Dhammasat*, a Com. on the third chapter (MS. Orient. 1029). 2. *Manuṣikā*, a Com. on the sixth chapter (MS. Add. 27,458). Dr. A. Führer, formerly of Würzburg, now of Bombay, has been engaged on these MSS. during his stay in London. On the *Dhammasattapakaraṇam* see a communication by Dr. Rost, in *Indische Studien* I. 315-320.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Orient. 2251, which forms also part of the Childers collection, contains variant readings to the Mahāvamsa, collected from Turnour's text, one Burmese MS., and five Sinhalese MSS.



Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Sāsanavaṃso	73	do.	do.	2252. [Ch.].
do.	82	do.	do.	2253. [Ch.].
Hatthavanagallavaṃso, with Sinhalese interp.	49	do.	do.	Add. 24,999.

## VII. RHETORIC.

Subodhāṅkāra, with Burmese interpretation	54	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 27,545.
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## VIII. PROSODY.

Kaṇṇasārapakaraṇam	54	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 27,545.
Kaṇṇasāraṇṇikā Nissaya	181	do.	do.	17,945.

## IX. GRAMMAR.

Mūlakaccāyaṇo, books 1-3, with Siamese version	36	Kambojjan	Palmleaves	Orient. 1246.
Mūlakaccāyaṇo	8	Burmese	do.	2178.
Kaccāyanappakaraṇam. Defective	71	do.	do.	2254 [Ch.].
Kaccāyanappakaraṇam	81	Sinhalese	Paper	Add. 19,630.
do. Fragment, with Burmese interpretation	119	Burmese	Palmleaves	18,755.
do.	17	do.	do.	Orient. 2255 [Ch.].
Sandhikappa and Nāmakappa	22	Sinhalese	Paper	854 [Ch.].
Nāmakappa	15	Burmese	Palmleaves	854 [Ch.].

Title.	Number of leaves.	Character.	Material.	Number of MS.
Sandhikappa Nissaya	80	do.	do.	Add. 12,243.
do. and Kāṇḍakappa Nissaya	153	do.	do.	Orient. 2170.
Saḍḍamālā	39	Sinhalese	do.	Add. 17,679.
Mukhamatta-dīpani, with B. interpretation	343	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 18,754.
do.	215	do.	do.	" 27,289.
Saḍḍamādhīpikarāṇam	369	do.	do.	Orient. 2256 [Ch.].
Vacakopadesa Nissaya	66	do.	do.	" 1076.
Moggallāyanaṇḍakaraṇam, with Burmese interp.	219	do.	do.	" 478.
X. LEXICOGRAPHY.				
Abhidhānappadīpikā. Defective	34	Burmese	Palmleaves	Add. 27,289.
Pāli-Sinhalese Vocabulary. Incomplete	13	Sinhalese	do.	Orient. 2167.
XI. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.				
Astrological tracts, in Pāli and Sinhalese	99	Sinhalese	Paper	Orient. 2258 [Ch.].
Kāyaviratigāthāsūmi, Pāli text, with Sinhalese interpretation. See Hardy's Manual, p. 539	31	do.	Palmleaves	" 2659 [Hardy].
Vuttamālasandesaśatakam, with Sin. interp.	48	do.	do.	" 2661.

LIST OF PÂLI MANUSCRIPTS  
IN THE  
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BY  
T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

IN the following alphabetical list, which I should not have been able to draw up had it not been for the specially kind assistance of the accomplished head of the Library, all the MSS. are on palm-leaves unless otherwise stated. Besides these Pâli books the Library possesses a collection unrivalled in Europe, of the works on the history of Buddhism written in Sinhalese.

Name.	Character.	No. of leaves.	Library Mark.
Abhidhânappadîpikâ	Sinh.	192	Add. MS. 923
Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha <sup>1</sup>	Burm.	107	1257
Atthanagala-vāṇsa	Sinh.	24	925
Ambaṭṭha-sutta-atthakathâ	„	10 (paper)	928 (?)
Kammavâcâ	Sq. Pâli	59	1260
„			292, 293
„ (fragments)			340, 341
Khuddaka-pâṭha	Sinh.	15 (paper)	931
Cariyâ-piṭaka	„	44 „	935
Dîpavaṇsa	„	146 „	944
„	„	31	945
„	„	27	946
„	„	59	1255
Pâtimokkha	Burm.		1249
Payoga-siddhi	Sinh.	103	1253

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bradshaw has a copy of the Vāṇṇanâ on this work in his own library.

Name.	Character.	No. of leaves.	Library Mark.
Padarûpa-siddhi	Sinh.	59	1254
Peyyâla-kaṇḍa (imperfect)	Kâmb.	32	1256
Bâlâvatâra	Sinh.	41	957
„ with sanna	„	151	958
Buddhavaṇsa	„	214 (paper)	951
Bodhivaṇsa <sup>1</sup>	„	62	953
Brahmajâla Sutta (with Sanna)	„	120	955
„ „	„	134	956
Bhesajja-mañjûsâ	Burm.	144	1252
Mahâvagga (?)	Burm.		225
Mahâvansa	Sinh.	172	291
„	Burm.		296
„	Sinh.	241	962
„	„	181	963
„	„	183	964
„ Tîkâ	„	188	965
Milinda Pañha	„	154	1251
Raṭṭhapâla Sutta (with Sanna)	„	33	978
Rasavâhini	„	10 (paper)	973
Lalâṭa-dhâtu-vaṇsa	„	197	974
Vibhaṅga	„	59	978
Visuddhi-magga	„	357	980
Sandhi-kappa	„	154 (paper)	983
Salâyatana-vagga (saṅyutta)	Burm.	200	986
Satipaṭṭhâna Sutta	Sinh.	17	988
Sigâlovada Sutta	„	11 (paper)	984
Sumaṅgala-pasâdana	Burm.	? <sup>2</sup>	294
Sumaṅgala-vilasini	Sinh.	250	987
Sutta Nipâta	„	39	989

<sup>1</sup> The library also possesses a Sinhalese Sanna on this work written on 178 palm-leaves.

<sup>2</sup> This MS. contains text and Burmese Nissaya combined.

# LIST OF PÂLI MANUSCRIPTS

## IN THE

### COPENHAGEN ROYAL LIBRARY.

[I HAVE compiled the following list from Westergaard's Catalogue, and included, from information kindly supplied by Professor Fausbøll, the additions made to this department of the library since the publication of that catalogue.—R.H. D.]

#### I. PĪṬAKA TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES.

Title.	No. of leaves.	Character.
Parivâra	138	Sinh.
Kammavâcâ, cap. 1 and 4	14	Square
Kankhâ Vitaranî	128	Sinh.
Khudda Sikkhâ, with Burm. Sanna	139	Burm.
Digha-Nikâya	272	Sinh.
Sumangala Vilasinî		Do.
Mahâ-samaya Sutta Vaṇṇanâ	32	Kâmb.
Majjhima „	277	Sinh.
Papañca Sûdanî	389	Do.
Linattha Pakâsanâ	366	Burm.
(Tikâ on last in three separate MSS.)	112	Do.
	165	Do.
Sati-paṭṭhâna Sutta	102 <sup>1</sup>	Sinh.
Vammika Sutta	17	Do.
Saṇyutta Nikâya	346	Do.
Ânguttara Nikâya	502	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Leaves 41-102 are Sinhalese Sanna.

Title.	No. of leaves.	Character.
Manoratha Pûraṇi	paper	Sinh.
Nava-nipāta (fragment)	28	Burm.
Dhammapada	28	Sinh.
„ Vañṇanā	298	Do.
„ with Sinh. Sanna	92	Do.
Sutta-nipāta }	26 }	Do.
Paramattha Jotikā }	157 }	Do.
Mahā-maṅgala Sutta }	3 }	Do.
Sinh. Sanna on ditto }	98 }	Do.
Sattasûryodgamana Sûtra	68	Do.
(Pāli followed by Sinh. Sanna)		
Tirokuḍḍa Sutta	3	
(Pāli text and com. followed by Sinh. Sanna)		
Dhamma-cakkappavattana Sutta		
(with com.)	14	Do.
Paramattha Dīpani	219	Do.
Jātaka Commentary	806	Do.
Dhamma-Saṅgani, Attha-salini	243	Do.
Vibhanga	89	Do.
Sammoha Vinodanī }	175 }	
Com. on Paṭṭhāna }	63 }	

## II. EXTRA-CANONICAL WORKS.

Sāra Saṅgaha	126	Sinh.
Pāli Muttaka Vinaya	215	Do.
Upāsaka Janālaṅkāra	95	Do.
Milinda Pañha	183	Do.
„ „	117	Do.
Jinālaṅkāra Vañṇanā	210	Do.
Rasavāhini	81	Do.
Mahāvansa	129	Do.
Bālāvatāra	33	Do.
„ with Sanna <sup>1</sup>	91	Do.
„ „	105	Do.
„ „	82	Do.

<sup>1</sup> This and the two following Sannas are three distinct works.

Title.	No. of leaves.	Character.
Kaccâyana Sâra	{ 4	Sinh.
„ „ Yojanâ	{ 20	Do.
Moggalâna Vyâkaraṇa	89	Do.
Rûpa Mâlâ	11	Do.
„	11	Do.
Abhidhâna Padîpikâ	50	Do.
„ „ with Sanna	139	Do.
Akkhyâta Pada, with Sanna	35	Do.
Dhâtu Mañjûsâ	6	Do.
Dhâtu Pâtha	{ 20	Do.
Dhâtu Mañjûsâ }		

[Professor Fausböll has also favoured us with the following list of the Pâli MSS. in the University Library at Copenhagen.]

1. Mahâ Samaya Sutta (Pâli with Burmese Sanna).
2. Nemi Jâtaka.
3. Temiya Jâtaka.
4. Mahâ Janaka Jâtaka.
5. Suvaṇṇa Sâma Jâtaka.
6. Kaccayana's Grammar (sandhikappa). All the above in one volume, together with two Jâtakas in Burmese.
7. The Mahâvagga of the Vinaya in Sinhalese character.
8. Mahâvansa Tikâ, also in Sinhalese characters.

## PĀLI MSS. AT STOCKHOLM.

[DR. E. W. DAHLGREN, the Secretary of the Swedish Society of Anthropology and Geography at Stockholm, has been kind enough to send me, in English, the following list of the Pāli and Sinhalese MSS. now at Stockholm, and collected in Ceylon by Baron Nordenskiöld. It is compiled from a description of them contributed to the Journal of the Society by Professor Fausböll.]

1. BRAHMAJĀLA-SUTTA, on 134 palm-leaves, paged ka-jhû, with 7 lines on each side. The MS. contains the first Sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Pāli followed by a Sinhalese Sanna.

2. BRAHMAJĀLA-SUTTA, on 164 palm-leaves, pag. ka-tî, with 6-7 lines on each side. The same work as No. 1. Pāli followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

3. MAHĀSATIPATTHĀNA-SUTTA, on 106 palm-leaves, pag. ka-chlrî, with 7-10 lines on each side. This MS. contains the 21st Sutta of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*. Pāli followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

4. MAHĀDHAMMASAMĀDĀNA-SUTTA, on 25 palm-leaves, pag. ka-khlri, with 6-10 lines on each side. The MS. contains the 6th Sutta of the 5th part of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*. Pāli, followed by a Sinhalese interpretation.

5. RASAVĀHINĪ, on 206 palm-leaves, pag. ka-dau, with 8-9 lines on each side.

6. ABHIDHĀNAPPADĪPIKĀ, on 146 palm-leaves, pag. ka-ñâ, with 8-10 lines on each side. Pāli, with Sinhalese interpretation.

7. SUBHASŪTRĀRTHAVYĀKKHYĀNAYAYI, on 55 palm-leaves, pag. ka-ghri, with 5 lines on each side. This MS. contains a



Sinhalese translation of the *Subha-Sutta*, in the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

8. MUWA-JĀTAKA, on 74 palm-leaves, pag. ka-ñirî. Elu verse.

9. PADA-RŪPA-SIDDHI, on 212 palm-leaves, pag. ka-dhî, with 8-9 lines on each side. A Sinhalese translation of the well-known Pāli grammar.<sup>1</sup>

10. Chapters 7-11 of the PŪJĀVALIYA, a Sinhalese prose work, giving an account of gifts made to the Buddhist order. The MS. consists of 96 palm-leaves, pag. ka-cah, with 6 lines on each side.

11. Single pages of divers Sinhalese manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> The sixth chapter of this work has just been published as a *Doctor Dissertation* by Albert Grünwedel, of München.

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- 11 KALUPE SĀRĀNANDA STHAWIRA, *Dadalla Wihāra, Galle.*
- 12 EDMUND R. GOONERATNE, *Atapattu Mudaliyâr, Galle.*
- 13 PAÑÑĀ-SEKHARA STHAWIRA, *Koḍagoda.*
- 14 H. A. WIRASINHA, *Muhandiram, Hambantota.*
- 15 PIYARATANA TISSA STHAWIRA, *Chief of Saila-bimbārāma, Doḍanduwa.*
- 16 DHAMMĀRĀMA STHAWIRA, *of Jayawardana Wihāra, Piṭicella.*
- 17 SĀRĀLAṆKĀRA STHAWIRA, *of Sailabimbārāma, Doḍanduwa.*
- 18 DEWUNDARA PIYARATANA STHAWIRA, *of Sailabimbārāma, Doḍanduwa.*
- 19 SUMANASĀRA STHAWIRA, *of Sailabimbārāma, Doḍanduwa.*
- 20 TANGALLE PA ÑĀNANDA, *of Sailabimbārāma, Doḍanduwa.*
- 21 HIKKADUWE SUMANGALA, *Principal of Widyodaya College, and Mahānāyaka of Adam's Peak.*
- 22 KUMARAWADA NIKORIS DE SILVA, *of Bussa, near Galle.*
- 23 KOGGALA SIRI SANGHA TISSA STHAWIRA, *Paramānanda Wihāra, Galle.*
- 24 T. B. PAÑĀBOKKE, *Raṭemahatmayā, Dumbara, Kandy.*

<sup>1</sup> In the case of Theras it will, of course, be understood that the Theras themselves do not subscribe, but laymen for them.

- 25 BULATGAMA DHAMMÂLANKÂRA SRI SUMANA TISSA, *Chief Thera of Paramânanda Wihâra, Galle.*
- 26 CÛLA SUMANA STHAWIRA, *Seluttârârama Ratgama.*
- 27 WAJJIRA SÂRA STHAWIRA, *Ganegodella Wihâra, Kosgoda.*
- 28 DHAMMA TILAKA STHAWIRA, *Siriwaddânârâma, Mâdampa.*
- 29 AMBAGAHAWATTE INDASABHAWARA NÂNASÂMI STHAWIRA, *Dhamma Gupta Piriwena, Payyogala.*
- 30 SUMANA TISSA STHAWIRA, *Sunandârâma, Hirimbure, Galle.*
- 31 SANGHA RAKKHITA STHAWIRA, *Walukârâma, Dadalla, Galle.*
- 32 LOUIS CORNEILLE WIJESINHA, *Mudaliyâr, Mâtale.*
- 33 MÂNANA HEWA ARIS, *of Batâpola.*
- 34 SADDHÂNANDA STHAWIRA *of Kumaramahâwihâra, Dadalla.*
- 35 MEDHÂNANDA STHAWIRA, *Sirinivésârâma, Kahawe.*
- 36 ATTADASSI STHAWIRA, *Suwisuddhârâma, Mâdampe, Balapiti.*
- 37 WIMALA-RATANA STHAWIRA, *Subhaddrâma, Balapiti.*
- 38 SUMANA TISSA STHAWIRA, *Gangârâma, Mâdampe, Balapiti.*
- 39 LOUIS DE ZOYSA, *Mahâ Mudaliyâr, Kosgoda.*
- 40 SUGATA SÂSANA DHAJA WINAYÂCÂRYA DHAMMÂLANKÂRA STHAWIRA, *of Mahâ Kappina Madalindârâma.*
- 41 CÛLA-PADUMA STHAWIRA, *of Dhigawâlukarama, Dikwella.*
- 42 GUNAPÂLA STHAWIRA, *of Tapodhanarama.*
- 43 SUNANDÂRÂMA TISSA STHAWIRA, *of Abkinawârama, Wælipata, Galle.*
- 44 PEMÂNANDA STHAWIRA, *of Purwârama, Kaṭaluwa, Galle.*
- 45 NÂNINDÂSABHA SIRISADDHAMÂCCARIYA, *of Sudhammarama, Eldeniya.*
- 46 MINUANPITIYEGE MATHES PERIS, *of Egoda-uyana, Panadura.*
- 47 KATMITANTIRIHEWÂGE KOVIS PERIS, *of Egoda-uyana, Panadura.*
- 48 SIWAKA STHAWIRA, *of Jayasekararama, Maradâna, Colombo.*
- 49 ARIYAWANSA BHIKKHU, *of Wicittrananda Wihâra, Galle.*
- 50 WAJJIRA SÂRA STHAWIRA, *of Mahakappina-mudalindarama, Wælitara.*
- 51 ARIYARATANA STHAWIRA, *of Subadrarama, Balapitiya.*
- 52 UDAKADA DHAMMAKKHANDA STHAWIRA, *of Bodhirâjârama, Bôgahapitiya.*
- 53 SIRI SUMEDHA STHAWIRA, *of Pushparama, Malawenna.*
- 54 SIRI SUNANDA STHAWIRA, *of Seluttararama, Randombe.*
- 55 SRI NIWÂSA STHAWIRA, *of the Ranwælle Wihâra, Kaṭaluwa.*
- 56 BUDDHASIRI TISSA STHAWIRA, *of Ambagahapitiye Wihâra, Wælitara.*
- 57 SANGHÂNANDA STHAWIRA, *of Sudarmâ Râma, Galle.*
- 58 MÂLAGAMA DHAMMÂNANDA STHAWIRA, *of Subadrârama, Katalua.*

- 59 SADDHĀNANDA STHAWIRA, of *Asokā Rāma Kalutara*.
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  - 61 ANDRIS DE SILVA GUNAWARDANA, *Vidhana Aracci, Ambalamgoda*.
  - 62 ĀSABHA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihāra, Welitota*.
  - 63 SUGATAPĀLA STHAWIRA, of *Waskaduwa*.
  - 64 DHAMMA RATANA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihāra, Welitota*.
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  - 68 SUGATA TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihāra, Welitota*.
  - 69 DHAMMA SĪRI STHAWIRA, of *Sumittidāma Kalutota*.
  - 70 DOMPE BUDDHARAKKHITA STHAWIRA, *High Priest of Kelani*.
  - 71 PAÑÑĀMOLI STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihāra, Welitota*.
  - 72 SÔRATA STHAWIRA, of *Ambagahapitiye Wihāra, Welitota*.
  - 73 MEDHAWI TISSA STHAWIRA, of *Kshetrasanne Wihāra, Welitota*.
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